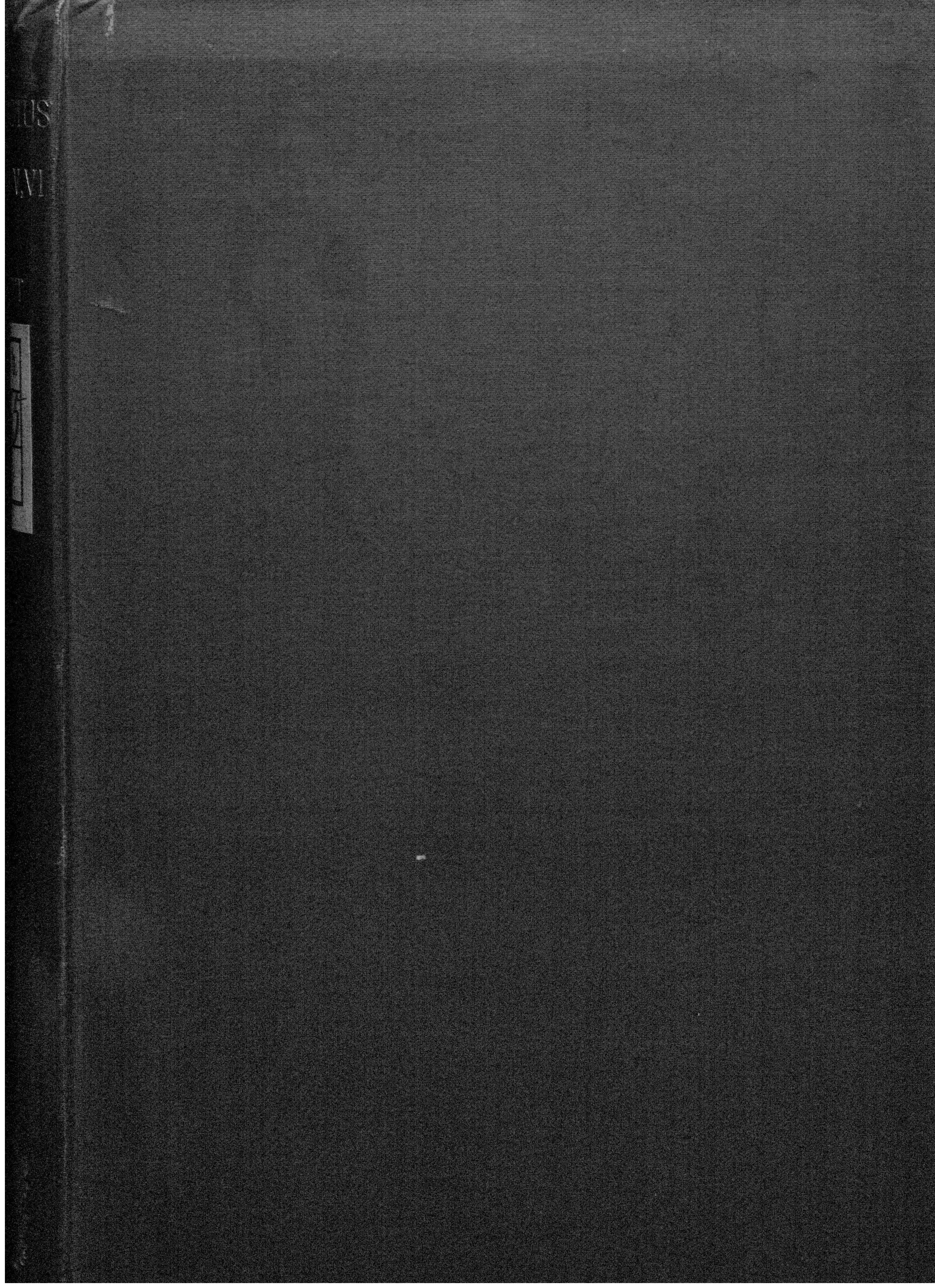




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Herodotus

HERODOTUS

BOOKS V, VI

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HERODOTUS

BOOKS V AND VI

TERPSICHORE AND ERATO

EDITED

WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

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WITH MAPS

Oxford

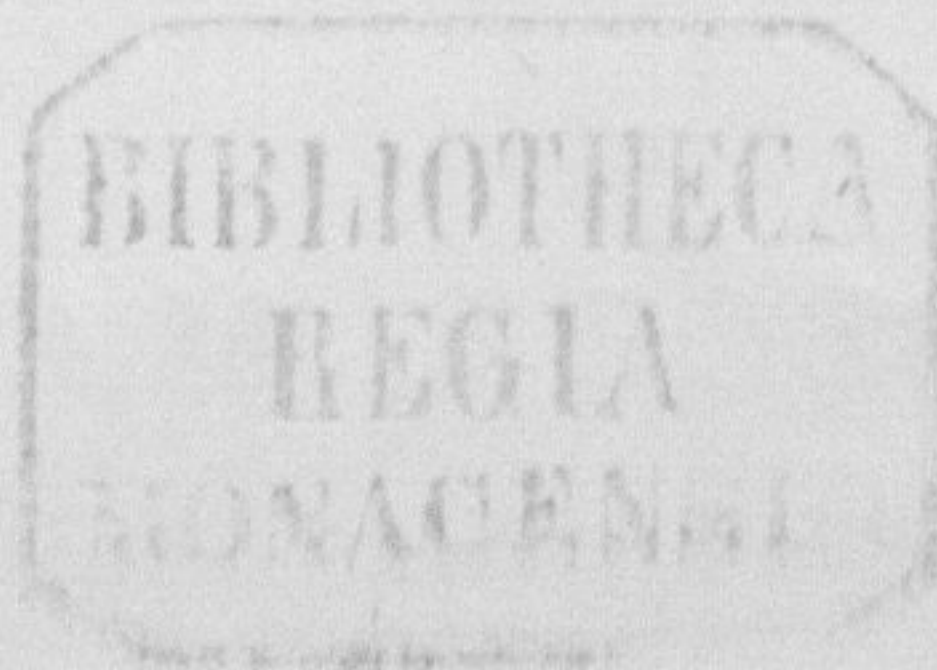
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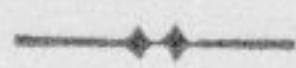
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P R E F A C E



THE text of this edition is mainly that of Stein in his edition of 1884, and wherever I have deviated from this I have quoted Stein's reading at the foot. The most important conjectures and readings, or at least those which seemed to be most important for my purpose, have been added in the critical apparatus, but I have not attempted to give anything like a *conspectus lectionum*. That will be found in the editions of Stein and Holder.

In regard to the dialect I have felt unable to do anything at all satisfactory, but readers who are interested in this side of the text will find it very carefully treated in Prof. Strachan's excellent edition of Book vi.

My notes are chiefly intended for historical students—for whom also the excursuses have been written. To make the book as useful as possible in this respect I have not hesitated to quote at length accounts given by other authors of the events narrated by Herodotus. I have, of course, made constant use of the editions by Krüger and Stein, which are indispensable helps in the study of Herodotus.

I hope, in the course of time, to be able to complete the whole of Herodotus on a similar plan.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

OXFORD :
October, 1892.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- V. 1. 5. *Add to the note* Cf. vii. 113 ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίονας Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπлас παρεξιῶν κ. τ. λ.
- V. 9. 14. Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 676 B ΑΘ. Φέρε, ἀφ' οὗ πόλεις τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτευόμενοι, δοκεῖς ἂν ποτε κατανοῆσαι χρόνου πλῆθος ὅσον γέγονεν; ΚΛ. Οὐκουν ῥάδιόν γε οὐδαμῶς.
- V. 49. 20. *Add to the note* Cf. *infr.* 88. 1.
- V. 92 (β). 8. *Add to the note* Cf. iv. 71. 25 ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται.
- V. 99. 5, *note.* For '(? end of the seventh century)' read '(? end of the eighth century.)'
- V. 108, 113. The names Onesilus and Philocyprus occur in the inscription of Idalium; the first in the name of a physician, the second of a public magistrate: cf. Collitz, *Sammlung*, p. 29.
- P. 159. This advantage of tyranny was however perceived by Plato. Cf. *Laws*, 710.
- P. 161. Archidamus and his two sons Agis and Agesilaus held the throne of Sparta from 469 B.C. to 361 B.C.
- VI. 9. 22, *note.* After 'outrages' add 'in insulting terms' (κατ' ἐπῆρειαν Thuc. i. 26).

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ANALYSIS



BOOKS V, VI.

THE IONIAN REVOLT AND THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.



V.

THE PERSIANS IN EUROPE : CC. 1-27.

- cc. 1, 2. Megabazus subdues the Perinthians and Thracians.
cc. 3-8. The Thracians, their customs and deities.
cc. 9, 10. Countries beyond the Danube.
cc. 11-13. Darius at Sardis ; rewards of Coes and Histiaeus ; the Paeonians and their sister.
cc. 14-16. Megabazus transports a number of Paeonians to Asia ; customs of the dwellers on Lake Prasias.
cc. 17-22. The Persians in Macedonia ; slaughter of the envoys ; Amyntas and his son Alexander.
cc. 23-25. On the advice of Megabazus, Darius recalls Histiaeus from Thrace, and after appointing Artaphernes satrap of Sardis, and Otanes general in the room of Megabazus, returns to Susa.
cc. 26, 27. Conquests of Otanes in the Bosphorus and Troad ; Lemnos and Imbros become subject to Persia.

THE IONIAN REVOLT DOWN TO THE VISIT OF ARISTAGORAS TO SPARTA : CC. 28-38.

- cc. 28, 29. Account of Naxos and Miletus ; prosperity of the cities. (Story of the Parians at Miletus.)
cc. 30, 31. Naxian exiles ask the help of Aristagoras of Miletus, who

- applies to Artaphernes; a Persian expedition against Naxos arranged.
- cc. 32-34. Two hundred Persian ships sent against Naxos under the command of Megabates and Aristagoras; owing to a quarrel between the commanders, the Naxians are warned, and the expedition fails.
- cc. 35-37. Aristagoras resolves to revolt from Persia, and is urged to take the step by Histiaeus. (Story of the message sent by Histiaeus from Susa.) Hecataeus attempts to dissuade him but in vain; seizure of the Persian captains at Myus; Aristagoras lays down his power in Miletus, and deposes the tyrants throughout Ionia.
- c. 38. Aristagoras visits Sparta to solicit help.

ARISTAGORAS AT SPARTA : CC. 39-54.

- cc. 39-48. State of Sparta at the time.
- cc. 39-41. Anaxandridas and his wives; birth of Cleomenes, of Dorieus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus.
- cc. 42-48. Account of Dorieus, who refused to remain in Sparta when Cleomenes became king; his colony on the Cinyrs in Libya; his voyage to Sicily, and supposed participation in the war between Sybaris and Croton; his death in Sicily. (End of Euryleon the companion of Dorieus, who became tyrant of Selinus; and of Philippus of Croton.)
- cc. 49-54. Aristagoras and Cleomenes.
- c. 49. Aristagoras urges Cleomenes to aid the Ionians, and shows him a map; description of the nations between Ionia and Susa.
- cc. 50, 51. Cleomenes refuses, on hearing that Susa is three months' distance from the sea. Aristagoras attempts to bribe him, but fails and leaves Sparta. (Story of Gorgo.)
- cc. 52-54. Account of the road from Sardis to Susa; and from Ephesus to Sardis.

ARISTAGORAS AT ATHENS: CC. 55-97.

- c. 55. Aristagoras leaves Sparta for Athens.
- cc. 55-96. History of Athens.
- i. cc. 55-61. Assassination of Hipparchus; vision of Hipparchus; his death; origin of the Gephyreans, to whom Harmodius and Aristogeiton belonged; Phoenicians in Boeotia; the Greek alphabet derived from them; ancient inscriptions at Thebes.
- ii. cc. 62-65. Expulsion of the Peisistratidae. Tyranny of Hippias, and unsuccessful attempt of the Alcmaeonidae to expel him. The Alcmaeonidae win over Delphi by their liberality in rebuilding the temple, and bribe the oracle to urge the Spartans to join in the liberation of Athens; first unsuccessful expedition under Anchimolius; second under Cleomenes; the Peisistratidae compelled to leave the country; they retire to Sigeum; their origin.
- iii. cc. 66-73. Factions at Athens; Cleisthenes and Isagoras.
- cc. 66-68. Cleisthenes, the Alcmaeonid, finding Isagoras too strong for him, wins over the people. His popular reforms. (Account of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, and the changes which he introduced, changes which Cleisthenes of Athens, his grandson, imitated.)

- cc. 69-73. Isagoras summons Cleomenes of Sparta to his assistance; the 'Accursed'; Cleisthenes retires from Athens, and Cleomenes visits the city with a small force; 700 families exiled; an attempt to reform the senate fails, and Cleomenes is compelled to withdraw; return of Cleisthenes; the Athenians seek the aid of Persia.
- iv. cc. 74-87. Attacks on Athens.
- a.* cc. 74-76. Cleomenes invades Attica, and reaches Eleusis, but the allies refuse to follow him; Demaratus also, the second king, withdraws. Cleomenes is compelled to retire. Four invasions of Attica by Dorians.
- b.* cc. 77, 78. The Boeotians and Chalcidians who had attacked Athens in concert with the Spartans (c. 74), are defeated; 700 Boeotians are taken prisoners; 4000 Athenians are settled at Chalcis; fetters of the prisoners at Athens, and a chariot commemorating the victory. Excellence of democratic institutions.
- c.* cc. 79-81. The Boeotians summon the Aeginetans to their aid in obedience to an oracle; the Aeginetans first send the Aeacidae, then attack Athens without proclamation of war. (cc. 82-88. Origin of the ill-feeling between Athens and Aegina. The Epidaurians allowed to make statues of Athenian olive-wood on certain conditions; the Aeginetans, previously dependent on Epidaurus, steal the statues and refuse to observe the conditions. Disastrous attempts of the Athenians to recover the statues; Athenian account; Aeginetan account; Argive account. Cruelty of the Athenian women to the sole survivor; changes in the dress of Athenians, Aeginetans, and Argives. Origin of Greek dress.)
- c.* 89. The Athenians, after consulting the oracle, are about to retaliate on the Aeginetans, when they are prevented by the Lacedaemonians.
- v. cc. 90-96. Attempt of the Spartans to restore Hippias.
- The Lacedaemonians, finding that the priestess of Delphi had been bribed to advise the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, send for Hippias from Sigeum, and summoning their allies, suggest his restoration; speech of Socles the Corinthian, who dwells on the iniquities of Cypselus and Periander, the tyrants of Corinth. The allies follow the Corinthians; Hippias returns to Sigeum (account of the war between Athens and Mytilene for the possession of Sigeum), and excites Artaphernes of Sardis against Athens; second embassy of the Athenians to Artaphernes, who insists that they must take Hippias back.
- c.* 97. Aristagoras at Athens. Owing to the state of feeling in the city Aristagoras induces the Athenians to send twenty ships to the help of Ionia; these ships the source of evil to Greeks and barbarians.

THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE DEATH OF ARISTAGORAS: CC. 98-126.

- c.* 98. Aristagoras, on his return to Miletus, induces the Paeonians, whom Megabazus had brought into Asia, to return to Europe.
- cc. 99-102. Burning of Sardis, and defeat of the Greeks. The Athenian ships, joined by five Eretrian vessels, sail to Miletus; they proceed to Ephesus; and thence to Sardis; which is burnt. The Greeks then retire; but are overtaken, and defeated at Ephesus; the Athenians return home.
- cc. 103, 104. The revolt spreads through Caria, and to the island of Cyprus; Onesilus of Amathus.

- cc. 105-107. Darius informed of the revolt ; his indignation ; his interview with Histiaeus ; Histiaeus returns to the coast.
- cc. 108-116. Suppression of the revolt in Cyprus. Battles by land and sea ; the Ionians are victorious at sea, but the Cyprians are defeated on land owing to treachery. (Story of Artybius and his horse, and of the head of Onesilus.)
- c. 117. Suppression of the revolt in the Hellespont, by Daurises.
- cc. 118-121. The Persians in Caria. The Carians are twice defeated with severe loss, but on the third attempt they entrap and defeat the Persians, slaying their generals.
- cc. 122, 123. Suppression of the revolt in the Troad and Aeolis.
- cc. 124-126. Flight and death of Aristagoras. On hearing of the capture of the cities, Aristagoras summoned his partisans, and proposed to retire to Sardinia or to Myrcinus in Thrace. Hecataeus advises him to fortify Leros, but he decides for Myrcinus, where he is slain by the Thracians.

VI.

FINAL SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT : CC. 1-42.

- cc. 1-5. Histiaeus returns to the coast ; and being suspected by Artaphernes, leaves Sardis for Chios, whence he attempts to raise a revolt at Sardis ; he attempts in vain to enter Miletus, and retires with eight Lesbian ships to Byzantium.
- cc. 6-17. Battle of Lade. The Persians collect their forces round Miletus ; approach of the Phoenician fleet, with the Cyprian and Egyptian ; the Ionians assemble to meet them. Overtures of the tyrants, which are rejected ; attempt of Dionysius of Phocaea to train the Greeks ; treason of the Samians ; battle of Lade and defeat of the Ionians ; disaster of the Chians ; Dionysius sails to the west.
- cc. 18-21. Fall of Miletus, as predicted by an oracle ; the Milesians conveyed to Ampe ; their city taken by the Persians ; sympathy with Miletus at Athens. (Story of Phrynichus.)
- cc. 22-25. Samos and Caria. (Those Samians who had refused to be traitors sail for Calè Actè in Sicily, and establish themselves at Zancle, on the way ; Scythes of Zancle, and Hippocrates of Gela.) Aeaces restored to Samos as tyrant. Caria submits.
- cc. 26-30. End of Histiaeus. Hearing of the fall of Miletus, Histiaeus sails for Chios, which he captures. (Warnings given to the Chians of the calamities which were about to overtake them.) From Chios Histiaeus sails to Thasos, but hearing of the approach of the Phoenicians, he returns to Lesbos, and lands in Atarneus, to obtain supplies.

Here he is defeated by Harpagus, carried to Sardis, and executed. Honours paid to him by Darius.

cc. 31-32. Final suppression of the revolt in the islands and in Ionia; Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos captured; this was the third enslavement of Ionia.

c. 33. Suppression of the revolt in the Hellespont. Fire and sword carried to Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the cities of the Propontis, except Cyzicus. The Phoenicians in the Chersonese.

cc. 34-40. The Chersonese; colonization by Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, at the request of the Dolonci; fortunes of Miltiades; his capture by the Lampsacenes, and liberation at the request of Croesus. He is succeeded by Stesagoras, the elder son of Cimon, who is slain by a Lampsacene, and succeeded by his brother Miltiades. Miltiades establishes himself as tyrant, keeps 500 guards and marries Hegesipyle. (Invasion of the Chersonese by the Scythians.)

cc. 41, 42. Hearing of the approach of the Phoenicians, Miltiades leaves the Chersonese for Athens; his son Metiochus is captured and sent to Darius, who, notwithstanding the advice given by Miltiades to the Ionians to break the bridge on the Danube, established him on an estate in Persia.

Hostilities are now at an end, but Artaphernes makes a fresh assessment of Ionia, and enforces submission.

INVASIONS OF GREECE BY PERSIA.

i. cc. 43-45. Invasion of Mardonius.

Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius, is appointed general-in-chief, all the rest being superseded; he assembles a host in Cilicia, and passing by Ionia, where he establishes democracies in the cities, crosses the Hellespont and advances by land and sea towards Greece. He subjugates Thasos, but his fleet is destroyed off Athos; and after completing the subjugation of Macedonia, after some reverses on land, he returns to Asia.

cc. 46, 47. Thasos. The Thasians being suspected in spite of their submission are compelled to pull down their walls by Darius, and take their fleet to Abdera. Wealth of the Thasians and mines in the island.

cc. 48, 49. Darius sends envoys to demand earth and water from the Greek cities. Many give it, among the rest the Aeginetans, of whose conduct the Athenians complain at Sparta.

cc. 50, 51. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, visits Aegina, but he is compelled to retire owing to the schemes of the second king Demaratus. His remark to Crius of Aegina.

cc. 52-60. The Lacedaemonian kings. Descent of the two kings; origin of

the double monarchy; the twin sons of Aristodemus; kings of the Dorians in part Egyptian.

Privileges of the Lacedaemonian kings in war and peace. Honours paid to them at their burial; similarity of Lacedaemonian and oriental customs. cc. 61-72. Cleomenes and Demaratus. Birth of Demaratus; his father Ariston, and his wife; suspicion of the legitimacy of Demaratus, who is attacked by a younger member of the same line. The matter is referred to the Pythia, who is bribed to decide against Demaratus. Demaratus is deposed, and after an interview with his mother leaves Sparta for Persia, where Darius receives him hospitably. Leotychidas succeeds to the throne of Sparta, but at a later time he suffered the due penalty of his misdeeds, being convicted of bribery and expelled from Sparta.

c. 73. Cleomenes visits Aegina a second time, with Leotychidas. He takes hostages, whom he deposits with Athens.

cc. 74-84. End of Cleomenes. His fraud being discovered, he leaves Sparta for Thessaly. Thence he returns to Arcadia, and begins to form a confederation against Sparta, upon which he is recalled to Sparta. His madness and death. Various causes of his madness are suggested, among others his sacrilege at the grove of Argus.

Invasion of Argolis by Cleomenes; his difficulty at the Erasinus; ships are furnished by Aegina, and Sicyon; deception and defeat of the Argives; Cleomenes at the grove of Argus, and at the Heraeum. He fails to take Argos, is put on his trial but acquitted. Desperate condition of Argos.

Another suggested cause of the madness was the drinking of unmixed wine, a habit contracted from the Scythians who visited Sparta.

cc. 85, 86. Leotychidas at Aegina. The Spartans, on hearing of the fraud of Cleomenes and Leotychidas, are willing to surrender Leotychidas to the Aeginetans, but the Aeginetans eventually decline to receive him. Upon this, Leotychidas and the Aeginetans visit Athens to demand the surrender of the hostages. The Athenians refuse to give them up. Story of Glaucus of Sparta.

cc. 87-93. War between Athens and Aegina. The Aeginetans retaliate by seizing an Athenian mission ship at Sunium. The Athenians now arrange with Nicodromus for the betrayal of Aegina, but the arrangement fails because the Athenians, having to borrow ships from the Corinthians, do not appear at the appointed time. Popular rising in Aegina, which is suppressed with impious cruelty by the oligarchs. Defeat of the Aeginetans by the Athenians. Argive volunteers arrive at Aegina, and a second battle is fought, in which the Athenians are defeated with a loss of four vessels.

ii. cc. 94-120. Invasion of Datis and Artaphernes.

cc. 94-99. Mardonius is removed from the command, and a fresh army collected under Datis and Artaphernes. It sails across the sea to Naxos, which is devastated and enslaved. Delos is treated with honour.

(Earthquake at Delos, significant of the disasters which overtook Greece in the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes.) The Persians, levying forces as they go, land at Carystus; which is compelled to submit.

cc. 100, 101. The Persians at Eretria. Athenian help sent but recalled. After six days Eretria is traitorously surrendered.

cc. 102-105. The Persians at Marathon. Hippias leads the Persians from Euboea to Marathon, as the best field for cavalry. The Athenians march out to meet him. Miltiades, the son of Cimon, is chosen general.

Account of Cimon; his victories at Olympia, with his mares; he is assassinated by the order of the Peisistratidae. Miltiades, his son, after escaping to Athens (c. 41) had been brought to trial for his tyranny, but escaped.

cc. 105, 106. The Athenians send to Sparta for help; story of Pheidippides. The Spartans cannot march out till after the full moon.

c. 107. Dream of Hippias, which bodes ill for the success of the Persians.

cc. 108-111. The Athenians are joined by the Plataeans. (Origin of the friendship between Plataea and Athens; conflicts between Athens and Thebes, and readjustment of the borders.) Division of opinion among the Athenian generals. Miltiades wins over Callimachus, the polemarch, and it is decided to give battle. Order of the line.

cc. 112-117. Battle of Marathon; rapid advance of the Athenians; the Greek centre is broken, but the wings are victorious. Rout of the Persians, who embark and sail to Phalerum, where they find the Athenians encamped near the city. The signal shield. Numbers of the slain; legend of Epizelus.

cc. 118-120. Datis and Artaphernes return to Asia; Datis and the image of Apollo. The Eretrians placed at Ardericca. The Lacedaemonians, 2000 strong, arrive at Athens after the full moon.

cc. 121-124. The Alcmaeonidae. Did they display the signal shield? Their conduct belies the accusation; they hated tyrants even more than Callias (story of Callias) and were greatly esteemed by the people at Athens.

cc. 125-131. Rise of the family. Alcmaeon and Croesus; Alcmaeon in the treasury at Sardis; Megacles and Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon.

The wooing of Agariste.

cc. 132-136. End of Miltiades. Miltiades makes a secret attack on Paros; he is unsuccessful, and returns to Athens disabled; (story of the visit to the temple of Demeter); he is put on his trial for deceiving the people, and fined fifty talents; he dies of his wound, but the fine is paid by his son Cimon.

cc. 137-140. Miltiades had acquired Lemnos for Athens. The Pelasgi being driven out of Attica to Lemnos, carried off some Athenian women from Brauron. These women and their children they subsequently put to death. In consequence, their land, wives and flocks became barren, and they were advised to offer compensation to Athens. The Athenians demanded their country, which the Pelasgians consented to surrender when the Athenians could sail to it in a day. This feat Miltiades accomplished by sailing from the Chersonese, which was occupied by Athenians, to Lemnos. In this manner Lemnos became Athenian.

THE MANUSCRIPTS ¹.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Class I. | { | A. FLORENTINUS (Mediceus), Laurentian Library (70. 3),
Florence, tenth century. |
| | | B. ROMANUS (Passioneus), Angelican Library (C. I. 6),
Rome, eleventh century. |
| | | C. FLORENTINUS, Laurentian Library (207), Florence, eleventh
century. |
| P. PARISINUS, National Library (1633), thirteenth century. | | |
| Class II. | { | R. ROMANUS, Vatican Library (123), fourteenth century. |
| | | r. URBINAS, Vatican Library (88), fourteenth century. |
| | | s. SANCROFTIANUS, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, four-
teenth century. |
| | | v. VINDOBONENSIS, Vienna (72), fourteenth century. |

¹ The MSS. of Herodotus practically fall into two classes; the first of which is represented by A B C, the second by R (r in Book V, which is not found in R) s v. P occupies a position between the two. The MSS. of the first class are older and better than those of the second, but those of the second frequently supply a better reading.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΗΣ

ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS.



- Page xvi, line 13. *For* VINDOBONENSIS, *read* VINDOBONENSIS,
- „ 129, note 2. *Add*, and so also Tamos (viii. 87), who is described as ὑπαρχος Ἰωνίας in viii. 31.
- „ 165, note. *For* Eleventh *read* Fourth *and for* Teiresias *read* Proteus
- „ 221, note to VI. 57. 11. Omit the reference to Thuc. v. 43.
- „ 289, note to VI. 136. 12. *For* were treated as *read* were in some cases treated as
- „ 303, line 5 from foot, *for* Crete *read* Rhodes

[Abbott's Herodotus.]

Herodotus in a wide sense to include all the Greeks from the Pontus to the Aegean; cf. *infra*. 103. 7; vi. 26, 33, etc. In the so-called 'Tribute lists' (e.g. 443 B.C., Hicks, *Hist. Inscr.* p. 41) Perinthus, and even Byzantium and Chalcedon, were placed in the Hellespontian district. Cf. also Strabo, vii. *frag.* 58.

Dyalus (Dionysus) is meant, who is mentioned as a Paeonian deity in the lexicon of Hesychius. The Paeonians on the lower Strymon would also be in the neighbourhood of the oracle of the Thracian Dionysus (see *infra*, c. 7).

7. ἐπικαλέσωνται... ἐπιβώσωνται, 'summon,' 'call on them'; not

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΗΣ

E.

THRACE. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες 1
 ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν δὲ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρώτους μὲν THRACE :
 Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶ- Megabazus
 ναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ at
 5 ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὧν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Perinthus.
 Παῖονες, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περιν-
 θίους, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνταί σφεας

1. 1. οἱ δέ, κ.τ.λ. The story is resumed from iv. 143, 144. On his return from Scythia (515 B.C.), Darius left Megabazus in Europe, with an army of 80,000 men, under orders to reduce the sea-board of Thrace. This Megabazus is to be distinguished from the son of Megabates (vii. 97); whether he is the same as Megabyzus, is uncertain.

3. Περινθίους. Perinthus was a Samian colony in the Propontis, founded in 599-598 B.C. The word 'Hellespontian' is often used by Herodotus in a wide sense to include all the Greeks from the Pontus to the Aegean; cf. *infr.* 103. 7; vi. 26, 33, etc. In the so-called 'Tribute lists' (e.g. 443 B.C., Hicks, *Hist. Inscr.* p. 41) Perinthus, and even Byzantium and Chalcedon, were placed in the Hellespontian district. Cf. also Strabo, vii. *frag.* 58.

5. οἱ γὰρ ὧν . . . Παῖονες. There were Paeonians on the upper Strymon: Agrianes, Laeaeans, and Graaeans (Thuc. ii. 96); and also on the lower river: Paeoplae, Sirio-paeones, and Doberes (*infr.* 13-15, Thuc. ii. 98. The article on the Paeonians in Pauly's *Realencycl.* is excellent). The date of this attack is unknown, but it is obvious that the *paean* would not be sung in Perinthus before the town was occupied by Greeks.

6. τοῦ θεοῦ. Perhaps the god Dyalus (Dionysus) is meant, who is mentioned as a Paeonian deity in the lexicon of Hesychius. The Paeonians on the lower Strymon would also be in the neighbourhood of the oracle of the Thracian Dionysus (see *infra*, c. 7).

7. ἐπικαλέσωνται . . . ἐπιβώσωνται, 'summon,' 'call on them'; not

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οἱ Περίνθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἣν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἐποίεον οἱ Παῖονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ¹⁰ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μουνομαχίῃ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἵππον ἵππῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνα κυνί. νικῶντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὥς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παῖονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἶπ' ἀν¹⁵ παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι “νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον^a”. οὕτω τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρέουσι οἱ Παῖονες, καὶ πολλόν² τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπόν σφρων ὀλίγους. τὰ μὲν δὲ ἀπὸ Παιόνων πρότερον γεγόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀν-

^a τὸ ἔργον Pr (sv).

‘challenge.’ The mention of the name (Paeonians) is all-important: cf. Thuc. iii. 52 ἡρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον.

13. συνέβαλον, ‘matched’; transitive, a sense which does not appear to be allowed in Attic. συνεβάλλοντο: middle, of the purely mental act; ‘put two and two together,’ as we say, and so, ‘infer.’

17. νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον. So Stein reads with ABC, but perhaps wrongly. The common idiom of ἔργον with the possessive pronoun in the sense of ‘my, your duty or business’ is not found elsewhere in Herodotus, though we have an approach to it in i. 17. 12 ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατίῃ. On the other hand the reading of Pr (sv) ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον, is good Greek, and the more difficult reading. Cf. Thuc. ii. 81 ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον

γενέσθαι. Herod. vi. 120 ult.; viii. 102. 8; ix. 102. 10.

2. 1. ἀπὸ Παιόνων... ἐγένετο. Cf. ii. 54. 9. Cobet would alter ἀπό into ὑπό, on the ground that ἐκ and πρὸς can be used for the agent, but ἀπό is always a mistake for ὑπό. Against this it may be urged, (1) that the sense with ἀπό is not the same as the sense with ὑπό (*infr.* 98. 6); and (2) that the use is too widely spread to be due merely to error. In Thuc. iii. 36, we have ἀπό with λέγεσθαι (cf. Classen, ad loc.), in *ib.* vi. 28 with μηνύεται, in Arist. *Pol.* i. 5. 3 = 1254a 27 we find τὸ ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων, where Newman says: ‘ἀπό is probably used in preference to ὑπό, because its signification is more comprehensive—the source rather than the agency,’ etc., and quotes Eucken to the effect that in the genuine works of Aristotle ἀπό is never

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δρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Πε-
ρινθίων οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν
5 πλήθει. ὥς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Πέρινθος, ἤλαυνε Μεγάβαζος
τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν
ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλεί. ταῦτα
γάρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηίκην καταστρέφεισθαι.

Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι μετὰ γε Ἰνδοὺς 3
πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι *The Thra-*
κατὰ τούτῳ, ἅμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον *cians. Their*
πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ- *customs,*
5 το ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μή κοτε ἐγγένηται^a, εἰσὶ *etc.*
δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. οὐνόματα δ' ἔχουσι πολλὰ
κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι, νόμοισι δὲ οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι
πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυ-

^b ἐν γένηται A B C, Bähr.

found in the sense of ὑπό with the passive.

7. ταύτῃ, i.e. in the direction which he took, which was by the sea-coast. The northern part of Thrace had been subjugated by Darius on his march to the Danube; iv. 93.

ταῦτα γάρ . . . Θρηίκην καταστρέφεισθαι. For τοῦτο referring to what comes after, cf. *infra*. 39. 8; 33. 12; Plato, *Apology*, 19 E.

3. In the opinion of Herodotus, the Danube flowed for a considerable part of its course from N. to S., corresponding to the Nile. Hence, in his view, Thrace has a large extension to the north. For the Indians, cf. iii. 94 Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλεῖστος ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, and the description in iii. 98 ff. Thucy-

dides, whether consciously differing from Herodotus or not, gives (ii. 97) the first place to the Scythians, both in Europe and Asia.

4. ἀλλὰ γάρ, κ.τ.λ. 'But this is impracticable and impossible that it should ever take place.' ἀμήχανον μή κοτε ἐγγένηται = οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ μή ἐγγένηται. Bähr follows Matthiae in reading ἐν γένηται (after A B C); but the compound is right, in the sense 'come to pass,' 'get on foot.'

6. κατὰ τοῦτο, 'on this account.' κατὰ χώρας, distributive: the meaning is that the Thracians have many names, because the inhabitants of each tract of territory have a different name. Herodotus mentions nineteen Thracian tribes; Strabo puts the number at twenty-two. See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* sub voce.

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The Getae,
Trausi, etc.

4 σῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρησωναίων οἰκεόντων. τού-
των δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἴρη-
ταί μοι. Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταῦτα
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θρήξι ἐπιτελέουσιν^a, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμε-
νόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. τὸν μὲν γε-5
νόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν
δεῖ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενοι^b τὰ
ἀνθρωπήια πάντα πάθεα. τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παί-
ζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων
5 κακῶν ἑξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. οἱ δὲ
κατύπερθε Κρησωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. ἔχει γυναῖκας
ἕκαστος πολλάς. ἐπεὰν ὦν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρί-
σις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαί

^a ἐπιτηδεύουσι Cobet; ? Stein.^b ἀπηγεόμενοι Bekker.

4. 2. The Getae, who dwelt between the Haemus and the Danube, maintained that they did not die, but went away to dwell with a spirit Zalmoxis, in a kind of Valhalla, an opinion which greatly astonished Herodotus; cf. iv. 94, 95. On the word ἀθανατίζειν see Purves, *Sel. from Plato*, p. 231. Cf. Strabo, p. 298, who notes that the Getae were at once polygamous and superstitious, connecting the two qualities: ἅπαντες γὰρ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγοὺς οἴονται τὰς γυναῖκας (*ib.* 297).

The Trausi perhaps dwelt on the eastern slope of Rhodope; according to Hesychius they were a Scythian tribe, and Stephanus Byz. identifies them with the Agathyrsi. The custom mentioned is noted by Euripides, *frag.* 452 N.

4. ἐπιτελέουσιν. Cobet would read ἐπιτηδεύουσι, the usual word for

practising a custom; ἐπιτελεῖν is properly to perform a religious rite, iii. 8. 10, or to complete a work.

5. ἀπογινόμενον. Cf. Thuc. ii. 34 τὰ μὲν ὅστ' αὖ τῶν ἀπογενομένων. There is no reason to reject the present tense in favour of the aorist, which has less authority.

7. ἀνηγεόμενοι, 'enumerating,' not merely stating or relating, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 19; *Isth.* 5. 56 ἀν. ἀρετάς.

5. The Crestonaeans dwelt on the sources of the Echeidorus, between the Axios and the Strymon: cf. vii. 124, where Xerxes passed through their country on his way from Therma to the Echeidorus, which in fact rose in Crestonaea, cf. *ib.* 127. Their northern neighbours may have been the Maedi, or the Sinti, see Thuc. ii. 98; Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. 448.

4. φίλων, friends of the various wives.

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5 ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ
 τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἢ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖ-
 σα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τά-
 φον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηιοτάτου ἐωυτῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συν-
 θάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρί. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην
 10 ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηίκων ἐστὶ ὅδε νόμος. πω- 6
 λεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ· τὰς δὲ^a παρθένους οὐ φυ- The rest of
 λάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἐῷσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι the Thra-
 μίσγεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι, καὶ^b marriage,
 5 ὠνέονται [τὰς γυναῖκας]^c παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων burial, etc.
 μεγάλων. καὶ^b τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ
 ἄστικτον ἀγεννές. ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργά-

^a δέ om. Gompertz, Van Herwerden. ^b καὶ om. r, Gomp., Van H.
 Cf. Cob., *Mnem.* xii. 135. ^c τὰς γυναῖκας secl. St.

6. κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, 'is selected and receives the distinction,' καὶ τι. are added to define κριθῇ, quasi ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἀξία. Cf. viii. 22. 19.

9. συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῦνται, 'take it much to heart,' cf. *infr.* 35. 19. This custom of the Thracians is mentioned by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 27, and for a similar custom among the Indians see Diodorus, xix. 33, 34.—Observe that all the three customs here mentioned have reference to a belief in a continued existence after death; and this an individual personal existence, not a mere metempsychosis. There is some reason to suppose that it was from a combination of the worship of the Thracian Dionysus with that of Demeter that the belief in immortality—such as it was—passed into the Eleusinian mysteries. Cf.

the Scythian customs mentioned in iv. 71, 72.

6. 3. αὐταὶ βούλονται. They are not allotted to any one, but choose for themselves. Cf. i. 93, of the Lydian women. Bähr quotes evidence to show that some similar customs prevail at the present day in these districts.

6. εὐγενές, a mark of good birth ἀγεννές, a mark of low birth. τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον (εἶναι) = τὸ μὴ ἐστίχθαι. ἄστικτον masc. sc. τινά. We learn from Clearchus, *frag.* 8 (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 306), that the Thracian women were tattooed as well as the men. [Stein, supplying ἐστί, takes ἄστικτον with τό as = an abstract noun, or in a collective sense (like τὸ μάχιμον, etc.) 'what is not tattooed.']

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την ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληιστύος κάλ-
 7 λιστον. οὗτοι μὲν σφῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσί,
 θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον
 καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων
 πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμέην μάλιστα θεῶν καὶ ὁμνύ-
 ουσι μῦνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω 5
 8 ἐωυτούς. ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰς αἶδε.
 τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ παντοῖα
 σφάξαντες ἱρήια εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον·
 ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῇ κρύψαν-
 τες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ 5

7. Thracia is the land of Ares; cf. *Il.* 13. 301. Diomed the Thracian king was the son of Ares; the Thracian Amazons his daughters. Sophocles, *Ant.* 968, speaks of Ares in Thrace, and in the same ode mentions the Thracian Dionysus. There was an oracle of Dionysus among the Satrae (Bessi, cf. Herod. vii. 111. 6); and compare the story of Lycurgus, the Thracian king, which is as old as the *Iliad* (vi. 130). Artemis was worshipped by the Edonians as Cottyto, or Cotys, with ecstatic and sensual rites, and indeed Cotys seems to have been the female counterpart of Dionysus, see Strabo, p. 470. The Thracian Artemis was also called Bendis, under which name she was worshipped at the Peiraeus in the time of Pericles. Bendis was a moon-goddess.

3. πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, 'separately from the mass of the people.' The use of the word πολιητέων is curious; but cf. πεπολισμένη, *infr.* 13. 10; πολιῆται, 16. 9; i. 120. 29. Of the Thracian Hermes nothing

certain seems to be known; but Mercurius (Hermes) is the name given by the Romans to the principal deity of the Celts and Germans. In these cases he is identified with Wodan; Grimm, *Teuton. Myth.* p. 149.

8. 3. The custom of the funeral feast is known to Homer; *Il.* xxiii. 29; and xxiv. end; *Od.* iii. 309, etc. For similar customs see iv. 73; i. 216. Two kinds must be distinguished, (1) those in which the dead join—or even form a part of the meal; (2) those which are merely commemorative.

4. θάπτουσι, 'perform sepulchral rites.'

ἄλλως, 'merely,' i.e. without burning: cf. iii. 139. 15 ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως.

5. χῶμα χέαντες, κ.τ.λ. Compare with this the funeral of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, in which we have the feast, the burning of the dead, the gathering of the ashes, the cairn, and the games. The purchase of wives is another custom common to

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τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μουνομαχίης. τα-
φαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηίκων εἰσὶ αἶδε^a.

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ⁹
ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκές, οἵτινές εἰσι ἄνθρωποι οἰκέον-
τες [αὐτήν]^b, ἀλλὰ [τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστροῦ]^c ἔρημος
χώρα φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούνοους δὲ δύνα-
5 μαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀνθρώπους
τοῖσι οὐνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεωμένους
Μηδικῇ. τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ
σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν,
σμικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν,
10 ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἅρματα εἶναι ὀξύτάτους· ἅρματηλα-
τέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τού-

The land
beyond the
Danube:
the Sigyn-
nae.

^a αὐται ABC.

^b αὐτήν secl. St., Van H.

^c τὰ . . . Ἰστροῦ secl. St., τά et ἤδη om. ABC.

Homer and the Thracians. χέαντες
= χῶσαντες, Homericè.

ἐν τῷ . . . μουνομαχίης, 'in which
the greatest prizes are given for
single combat, as is reasonable.'
For κατὰ λόγον in this sense, cf.
viii. 111. 10 κατὰ λόγον ἄρα ἦσαν
αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι. Or, taking κατὰ
λόγον in the sense of 'in proportion
to,'—'in which the greatest prizes
are given for single combat, in pro-
portion' (to its difficulty), i.e. the
prizes vary in amount, according to
the contest, the greatest being given
for single combat. For this sense of
κατὰ λόγον, cf. i. 134. 13 τοὺς ἄλλους
κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι.
For the μουνομαχίη of the Thracians,
see Xen. *Anab.* vi. 1. 5, 6.

9. 3. αὐτήν. The language is
not grammatical, but Herodotus
may have written so. The sense is
clear. Cf. ἀπ' αὐτῆς in iv. 38.

4. ἄπειρος, i.e. the northern limit
is unknown. Cf. iv. 45 ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη
πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γινωσκο-
μένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα
οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην εἰ περίρρυτός ἐστι.
In iv. 16 we are told that nothing is
known of the country north of Scythia:
cf. iii. 115, 116; and *infra*. 10. 2.

6. τοῖσι . . . εἶναι, a common form
of attraction in Herod.

Σιγύννας. Strabo, p. 520,
speaks of a nation of Siginni dwell-
ing in the Caucasus, who, like these
Sigynnae, have little shaggy horses,
which cannot bear a rider, and are
yoked in fours. The name has been
connected with Zigeuner, gypsy.
What we learn from the text is this:
(1) that the tribe came from the
East, which is in no way improbable;
(2) that they were known as pedlars
as far west as the Eneti.—The dress
of the Medians was distinct: it was

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των τοὺς οὐρούς ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. εἶ-
 ναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι
 Μήδων ἀποικοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσα-
 σθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. σιγύννας¹⁵
 δ' ὧν καλέουσι Λίγνες οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας οἰκέοντες
 10 τοὺς καπήλους, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα. ὥς δὲ Θρήικες
 λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου, καὶ
 ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ
 μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ
 γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ⁵
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχρα.
 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ πα-
 ραθαλάσσια δ' ὧν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοα
 ἐποίησε.

11 Δαρεῖος δὲ ὥς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπὶ-

borrowed by the Persians; see vii. 61, 62; i. 135. 2 etc.

12. Ἐνετῶν. In Homer the Eneti are Paphlagonians (*Il.* ii. 852); but Herod. i. 196. 3 calls them an Illyrian tribe. The Celtic Veneti of Caesar's time were different.

15. γένοιτο δ' ἂν, κ.τ.λ. Herodotus looks back on an illimitable past; cf. ii. 11. 18, where he speaks of 20,000 years as a comparatively short period in the world's history.

16. ἄνω, 'inland,' i.e. in the mountains. Κύπριοι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 21 τὸ σίγνον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα.

10. 3. ὑπὸ τουτέων, 'owing to these.' Cf. iv. 7. 16 οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι προσωτέρω διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων. Herodotus regards the ends of the earth as impassable: cf. iv. 31 init., 40. 8, 45 init.; iii. 115. 13. The story in the text may

have had its origin in the number of mosquitos and gnats which infest Wallachia and Moldavia but bees are also numerous in those regions: see Bähr's note.

5. δύσριγα, 'very chilly,' i.e. impatient of cold. See Arist. *Hist. An.* viii. 25 (of mules).

τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν, κ.τ.λ., 'the country stretching beneath,' etc. Herodotus uses the article (sing. and plur.) with words and clauses, sometimes adverbially, sometimes as a substantive. Cf. *supr.* 9. 3 τὰ πέρην adverbial; 10. 1 τὰ πέρην substantival.

11. 1. ὥς διαβὰς τάχιστα. See *infr.* 29. 9. Coes (iv. 97. 8) advised Darius not to destroy the bridge over the Danube, after he had passed over it; and Histiaeus (iv. 137. 5) prevented those left in charge from destroying it at the request of the Scythians.

SARDIS. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66, 2.

κετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μι-
 λησίου εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου
 Κώεω, μεταπεμψάμενος δέ σφεας ἐς Σάρδεις ἐδίδου αὐ-
 5 τοῖσι αἵρεσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννέων τῆς
 Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρήριζε, αἰτέει
 δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν
 κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἰρέεται, ὁ δὲ Κώης, οἷά
 τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυ-
 ραννεῦσαι. τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὔτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ^a 12
 εἶλοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεικε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε
 ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάζῳ Παίονας
 ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐ-
 5 ρώπης^b. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαντύης^c ἄνδρες Παῖονες, οἱ
 ἐπεῖτε Δαρεῖος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες
 Παίωνων τυραννεῦειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἅμα ἀγό-
 μενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα. φυλάξαντες δὲ

SARDIS:
Darius,
Histiaeus
and Coes.The
Paeonians
at Sardis.

^a κατὰ ἅ Krüger, Van H., τὰ om. A B C; κατὰ τὰ Pr (sv). ^b ἐκ τῆς
 εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν ἀσίην Pr (sv). ^c μαστύης P., μαστίης sv.

7. Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν: sc.
 χώραν. For the district see the
 Map. The selection certainly does
 credit to the sagacity of Histiaeus.

9. δημότης. Coes is described in
 iv. 97. 8 as 'general of the My-
 tilenaeans.' The city at this time
 was in the hands of a moderate
 government, as arranged by Pittacus,
 but since the days of Cambyzes
 Lesbos had been in some way subject
 to Persia.

12. 1. κατὰ τὰ εἶλοντο ἐτράποντο,
 'repaired to the objects of their
 choice.' The words refer to the
 departure of Histiaeus and Coes to
 Myrcinus and Mytilene.

3. ἐπιθυμῆσαι, 'conceived a wish.'

4. ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι. Such
 violent transportations were charac-
 teristic of Persian despotism, and
 caused it to be dreaded; cf. vi.
 3. 6.

5. ἦν . . . οἷ. Cobet would remove
 these words on the ground that ἦν is
 merely a repetition of the syllable
 -ην from Ἀσίην, which in the variant
 order ἐκ τῆς Εὐρ. ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην
 comes last in the sentence. But ἦν
 is found in all the MSS.; the order
 from which it arose (on this hypo-
 thesis) in a section only. ἦν begins
 a sentence, *infr.* 71. 1, and 104. 3.
 For the singular see ix. 57. 10 ἵνα μὴ
 ἀπολείπη . . . ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ ὁ
 λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι.

SARDIS. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

Δαρείον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυ-
δῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε. σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὥς¹⁰
εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσιν καὶ
κλώθουσιν^a λίνον. ὥς δὲ παρεξήιε ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ
Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ
ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας¹⁵
οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων
τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ
ἡ γυνή. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀπισθε εἶποντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπί-
κετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἤρσε τὸν ἵππον, ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ
τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν πα-²⁰
ρεξήιε, φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα
ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρα-
¹³κτον. θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τὰ τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν
κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὥρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε
ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν. ὥς δὲ ἄχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελ-
φροὶ αὐτῆς οὗ κη πρόσω σκοπιὴν ἔχοντες τούτων. εἰρω-
τῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὀποδαπὴ εἶη, ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνί-⁵
σκοι εἶναι Παῖονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν.
ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἄνθρωποί εἰσι καὶ
κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κείνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς

^a κλώσαν A B C.

9. προκατιζόμενον, i.e. in order to hear and decide causes. Cf. i. 14. 14, where we are told that Midas dedicated at Delphi the royal throne ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκησε: so, too, i. 97. 4 of Deioces. The 'suburb' of Sardis no doubt extended into the plain, through which flowed the Hyllus, and Pactolus, and other rivers (i. 80).

15. πρὸς τῶν, κ.τ.λ., 'like any of the Asiatics.' πρὸς means

'characteristic of,' 'coming from.' A similar story to that in the text is told by Nicolaus Damascenus (*Frag.* 71. M.) of a Thracian woman, who came to Sardis from Mysia in the time of king Alyattes: τοῦ οὖν βασιλέως πρὸς τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει καθεζομένου, διήρχετο ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Θρακός, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς βαστάζοντα στάμνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν ἡλακάτην καὶ ἄτρακτον, ὀπισθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ζώνην ἵππος τις

PAEONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

Σάρδεις. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφραζον ὥς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκείνῳ δώ-
 10 σοντες σφέας αὐτούς, εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυ-
 μόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη, ὃ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω
 τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης
 ἄποικοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔλεγον, ὃ δὲ εἰρώτα
 εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες εἴησαν οὕτω ἐργάτιδες.
 15 οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ
 γὰρ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο. ἐνθαῦτα Δαρείος 14
 γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ^a, τὸν ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ
 στρατηγόν, ἐντελλόμενος ἐξαναστῆσαι ἐξ ἡθέων Παίονας
 καὶ παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ^b τέκνα τε
 5 καὶ τὰς^b γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππεὺς ἔθεε φέρων
 τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, περαιωθεὶς δὲ δι-
 δοῖ τὸ βιβλίον^c τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὃ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ
 λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν
 Παιονίην. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παίονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ 15
 σφέας ἰέναι, ἀλίσθεντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσ-
 σης, δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλ-

PAEONIA :
 Transpor-
 tation of the
 Paeonians
 into Asia.

^a πρὸς μεγάβαζον A B C. ^b τὰ . . . τὰς om. Pr (sv), Gaisford, Bekk.

^c βιβλίον Libb., corr. St.

προσεδέδετο. Alyattes sent envoys to the king of Thrace (Cotys), begging that a number of these industrious Thracians might be transferred to his country.

13. 10. εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη, κ.τ.λ. For the Paeonians, see note on c. 1. The word πεπολισμένη is elsewhere used by Herodotus of a single city, e.g. *infra*. 52. 34 ἐπ' ᾧ (ποταμῷ) Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται, Xen. *Anab.* vi. 6. 4 πολίζει τὸ χωρίον. Here it is used of a country containing πόλεις.

12. εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In vii. 20. 11 ff. Herod. speaks of a

great immigration of the Teucrians and Mysians from Asia into Europe, before the Trojan war. This immigration not only brought Asiatic nations into Europe, but drove European nations into Asia, as e.g. the Bithynians (vii. 75), who formerly dwelt on the Strymon, and perhaps the Phrygians.

15. αὐτοῦ γάρ, κ.τ.λ., 'for this was the very point which they had in view in arranging the whole matter.'

15. 2. Two routes led from Thrace (i.e. from the country of the Sapaeci

PAEONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

λοντας^a. οἱ μὲν δὲ Παῖονες ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι τὸν Μεγαβά-
 ζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι 5
 συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσ-
 βολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν
 τράπονται, λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς
 τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰσάσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους. οἷα δὲ κει-
 νῇσι ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες ὥς 10
 ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλεις, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες
 κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας
 αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οὕτω δὲ Παίωνων Σιριοπαίωνες^b
 τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης
 16 ἐξ ἡθέων ἐξαναστάντες ἦγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οἱ δὲ περὶ
 τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος [καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ
 Ὀδομάντους]^c καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ
 ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου. ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ

^a ἐσβαλόντας Pr (sv). ^b Σιριοπαῖονες Holstein, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Σίρις:
 σιροπαῖονες, sive -αῖονες Libb. ^c καὶ . . . Ὀδομάντους secl. St.

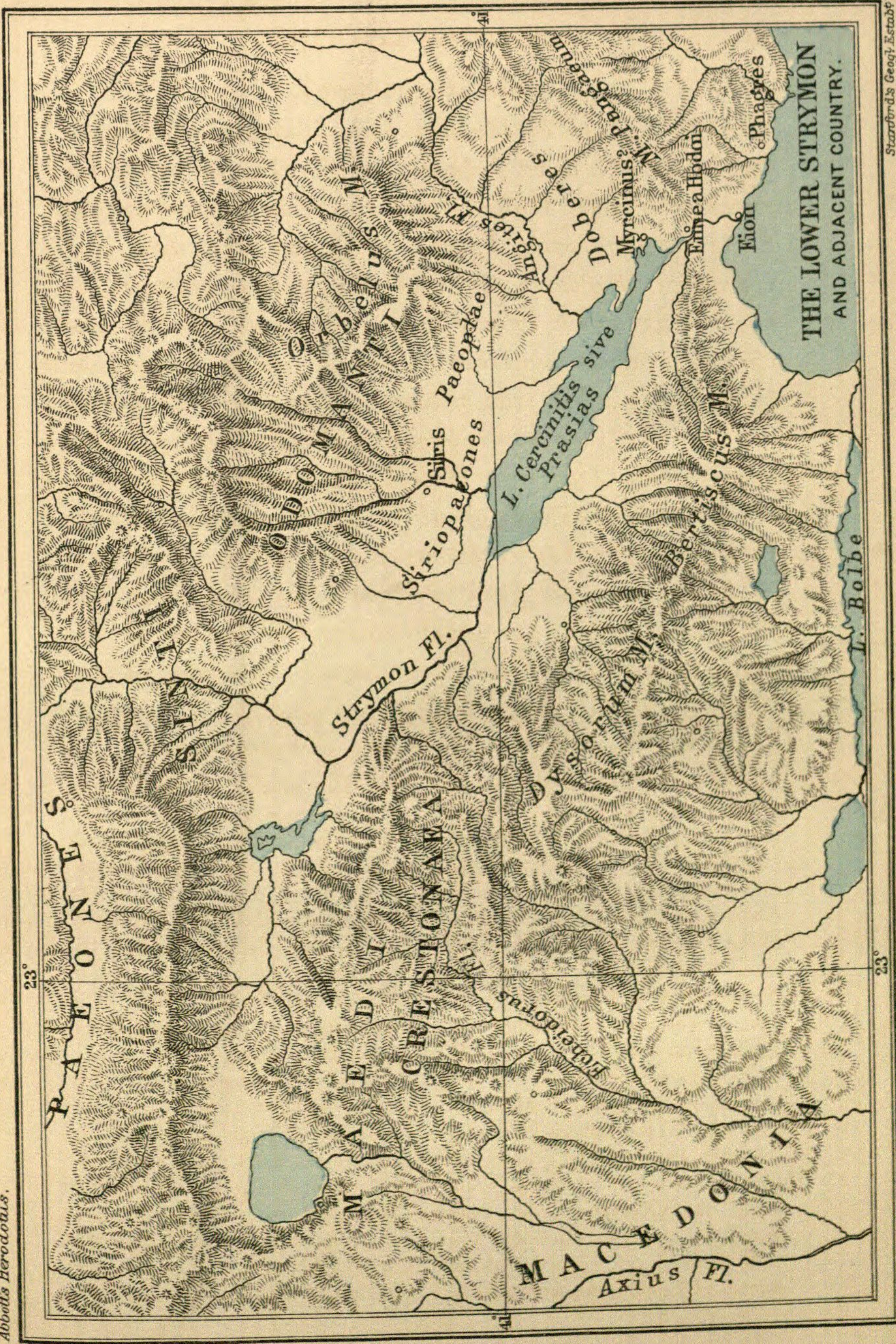
and the mouth of the Nestus) to the Strymon: (1) the route through the 'Pierius Sinus,' south of Mount Pangaeum, which was taken by part of Xerxes' army; (2) the route to the north of Pangaeum, down the valley of the Angites. This was the route taken by Megabazus. See Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. 183.

6. συναλίσθαι . . . φυλάσσοντας. The same variation occurs, viii. 40. 10 f.

13. Σιριοπαῖονες, κ.τ.λ. 'It was very natural that Megabazus should have subdued the Siriopaeones, who possessed the most fertile and exposed part of the Strymonic plain, while the Odomanti, who were secure in a higher situation, and still more the Agrianes, who dwelt at the sources of the Strymon, were able to

resist him as well as the Doberes and the other Paeonians of Mt. Pangaeum, and the amphibious inhabitants of Lake Prasias,' Leake, *N. G.* iii. p. 210, who identifies Lake Prasias with Lake Cercinitis. Siris lay on an eastern affluent of the Strymon, not far above the lake, in a large and fruitful plain. The name survives in the modern Serres. Leake, *l. c.* p. 200.

16. 2. καὶ Δόβηρας, κ.τ.λ. The reading is doubtful; why should the Paeonians be described as dwelling near the Doberes and Agrianians who were themselves Paeonians? The general sense is probably right. The Odomanti were Thracians, dwelling between the Nestus and Strymon, on the mountains.



PAEONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

5 τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε^a. ἴκρια
 ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λί-
 μνῇ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου στεινὴν ἔχοντα μὴ γε-
 φύρη. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἰκρίοισι
 τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολιῆται,
 10 μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰστᾶσι τοιῶδε. κομίζοντες ἐξ
 ὄρεος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ὀρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην
 ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι. ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος
 συχνὰς^b γυναῖκας. οἰκέουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων
 ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαιτᾶται καὶ
 15 θύρης καταπακτῆς^c διὰ τῶν ἰκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς
 τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρ-
 τῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες. τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ
 τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθῦς. τῶν δὲ πλῆ-
 θός ἐστι τοσοῦτο ὥστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπα-
 20 κτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατιεῖ^d σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λί-

The
Paeonians
on Lake
Prasias.

^a κατοικημένους δὲ ὧδε St. ^b πολλάς Pr (sv). ^c καταρρακτῆς Reiske, κατα-
 πηκτῆς Wesseling, κατεπακτῆς St. ^d κατιεῖ Schaefer, κατίει Libb., sed
 vid. Schwgh. ad i. 180.

5. κατοικημένους ὧδε are to be taken together.

9. πολιῆται. See the note on c. 7.

11. Orbelus is the mountain on the left bank of the Strymon. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 1. 5, remarks that Alexander in marching from Amphipolis to the Nestus had Philippi and Mount Orbelus on his left.

15. καταπακτῆς is a doubtful word. If from πήγνυμι we should expect καταπηκτῆς. κατεπακτῆς (Stein) would be correct from κατεπάγω, and as ἐπάγειν θύραν is used of closing an ordinary door, so κατεπάγειν might be used of a door closing downwards.

17. τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι, κ. τ. λ.

Wesseling quotes Athenaeus, 345 E οἶδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Μόσυνον τῆς Θράκης βοῦς, οἱ ἰχθῦς ἐσθίουσι, παραβαλλομένους αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς φάτνας. For the fishery see Leake, *l. c.* p. 185: 'The fishery is said to produce annually about 40,000 brace of large eels, besides the smaller and other fish.' On the subject of lake dwellings, see Tylor, *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1868, and *Fortnightly Review*, Nov. 1866; and Keller, 'Lake Dwellings,' etc. Without further information it is impossible to say whether we have here a 'survival' of a very primitive form of civilization, or an adaptation to peculiar circumstances.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

μνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχὼν ἀνασπᾶ πλή-
 ρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς κα-
 λέουσι πάπρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνας.

MACEDO-
 NIA: The
 Persian
 envoys at
 the court of
 Amyntas.

- 17 Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν
 Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὥς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας,
 πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας,
 οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατο-
 πέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες 5
 γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεί. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρα-
 σιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην·
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ^a
 ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης
 ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεό- 10
 18 μενον ὅρος ὑπερβάντα^b εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. οἱ ὦν Πέρ-

^a ἐκ τοῦ Struve, sed vid. Stein, *Einleit.* p. lvii.

^b ὑπερβάντι Bernhardt, Abicht.

17. From the words ὥς ἐχειρώ-
 σατο it would appear that the
 envoys were sent to Macedonia after
 the conquest of the Paeonians; yet
infr. c. 23, Megabazus returns with
 the Paeonians to Asia. His im-
 mediate departure was probably the
 reason why it was left to Bubares
 to investigate the fate of the envoys.

7. σύντομος, sc. ὁδός. So πολύ-
 φημος is used for a meeting, *infr.*
 79. 4, whereas in Homer we have
 ἀγορὰ πολύφημος.

Μακεδονίην, κ.τ.λ. 'If we
 suppose Herodotus to have referred
 not so much to the Macedonia of
 the reign of Amyntas, when Mega-
 bazus invaded Paeonia'—at which
 time Macedonia was confined be-
 tween the Axios and Haliacmon—
 'as to the extent of the kingdom in
 the time of his grandson Perdiccas,

which was that of the historian him-
 self, when Mygdonia, Bisaltia, An-
 themus, and Crestonia had been
 added to the kingdom; it then
 becomes credible that Alexander I
 wrought some mines in the Bisaltian
 mountain, which is separated from
 Mt. Pangaeum by the pass of
 Amphipolis, and that the further
 continuation of that mountain to-
 wards the modern Sokhó may have
 been the ancient Dysorum.' Leake,
l.c. 212. For the coins of Alex-
 ander see Head, *Hist. Num.* 193.

11. ὑπερβάντα εἶναι. There is no
 grammatical construction; a word
 must be supplied to account for the
 accus. and infin. Abicht reads
 ὑπερβάντι, comparing i. 104. 4
 τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν
 τῇ Μηδικῇ. See also Thuc. ii. 96
 τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

σαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὥς ἀπί-
 κοντο, αἵτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ
 βασιλεί γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου καὶ
 5 σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέει, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον
 μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὥς δὲ
 ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε·
 “ξεῖνε Μακεδών, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐπεὰν
 δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ
 10 τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ νυν,
 ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαιο μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, δι-
 δοῖς δὲ βασιλεί [Δαρείῳ]^a γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπεο νόμῳ
 τῷ ἡμετέρῳ”. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης “ὦ Πέρσαι,
 νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι
 15 ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπόται προσ-
 χρηρίζετε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα”. εἶπας
 τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ’
 ἐπεῖτε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίαι ἴζοντο τοῖσι
 Πέρσησι. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρ-
 20 φους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο
 οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθαι μὴ ἐλ-
 θεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀν-

Their
insolent
demands.

^a Δαρείῳ secl. St., Van H.

18. 6. Cf. ix. 16. 3 ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ
 δεῖπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων, κ.τ.λ. The
 meal was at an end, but the drink-
 ing went on; διαπίνοντες implies
 heavy drinking, to which Mace-
 donians and Persians were addicted.
 Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 1 ὥς δὲ
 ἦλθε τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς Κῦρον ἢ Ἀспа-
 σία, ἔτυχεν μὲν ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ὦν καὶ πίνειν
 ἐμελλε κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν Περσικόν·
 μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι τροφῆς οἱ
 Πέρσαι τῷ τε οἴνῳ εὖ μάλα ἀποσχολά-

ζουσιν, ὥς πρὸς ἀντίπαλον τὸν πότον
 ἀποδυνόμενοι: *infr.* l. 24.

10. τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας. This
 is denied by Plutarch, *Conviv. Dispr.*
 i. 1; *Conjug. Praecep.* 16. Greek
 feeling drew a very broad line be-
 tween the married and unmarried
 woman on such occasions; cf.
 Isaeus, iii. 14 (16) οὐδὲ αἱ γαμεταὶ
 γυναῖκες ἔρχονται μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα, οὐδὲ συνδειπνεῖν ἀξιούσι
 μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.

MACEDONIA, B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

τίας ἵζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος
δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν
γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο οἷα²⁵
πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

Alexander
the son of
Amyntas.

- 19 Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καίπερ δυσ-
φορέων, οἷα ὑπερδειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεών τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος
τε ἔων καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθήs, οὐδαμῶs ἔτι κατέχειν οἷος
τε ἦν, ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην⁵
τάδε· “ὦ πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιών τε ἀνα-
παύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐ-
τοῦ τῇδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι.”
πρὸς ταῦτα συνιείς Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα
πρήξειν^a μέλλοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γάρ¹⁰
σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνίημι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ
ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρηρίζω μη-
δὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ
ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχευ ὀρέων τὰ ποιεύμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπό-
20 δω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαί τοι.” ὥς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρηίσας
τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρ-
σας “γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὦ ξεῖνοι, ἔστι ὑμῖν πολλὴ εὐπε-
τεῖη, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὀκόσῃσι ὦν
αὐτέων. τούτου μὲν περὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δέ,⁵
σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆs κοίτης ὥρῃ προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ

^a πρήσσειν A B C, St.

25. οἷα πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι. Cf.
i. 133. 12 οἶνω κάρτα προσκέαται
(Πέρσαι)—μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ εἰώθασι
βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν
πρηγμάτων. Plato, *Laus*, 637 D.

19. 6. εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ, ‘indulge
your years’; ἡλικίῃ is used both of
age or youth (vii. 18. 8).

7. λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι, ‘remain at
the drinking.’ So Stein, who regards
the dative as local, but? ‘persevere
with the drinking.’

9. νεώτερα, ‘violent.’

20. 1. χρηίσας τούτων, ‘having
made this request.’ The genitive as
infr. 30. 25.

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὁρῶ μέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ
 ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστί, ἄπετε λούσασθαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὀπί-
 σω προσδέκεσθε.” εἶπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν
 10 οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν
 γυναικίην, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ
 ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῆτι
 σκευάσας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοὺς παρῆγε^a ἔσω, παράγων δὲ
 τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσησι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, οἴκατε
 15 πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ ἰστιῆσθαι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχο-
 μεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἶά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα
 ὑμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον,
 τὰς τε ἐωυτῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδαψιλευό-
 μεθα ὑμῖν, ὥς παντελέως μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς
 20 ἡμέων τῶν περ ἐστὲ ἀξιοί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεί τῷ
 πέμψαντι ἀπαγγείλητε ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνας Μακεδόνων ὑπαρ-
 χος εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ.” ταῦτα
 εἶπας Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακε-
 δόνα ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέων οἱ
 Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς. καὶ 21
 οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ
 ἡ θεραπήνῃ αὐτῶν· εἶπετο γὰρ δὴ σφί καὶ ὀχήματα
 καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα

Assassina-
tion of the
envoys.^a ἦγε A B C, St.

16. καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἶά τε. *πρός* is adverbial, *τά*=*ταῦτα* ἅ, and *οἶά τε* is plural for the more usual singular (*infra*. 49. 14 *εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστί*).

18. ἐωυτῶν, of the first person.

20. τῶν=τούτοισι ὧν.

21. ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνας. Cf. *infra*. c.

22. In ix. 45. 7 Alexander is represented as saying αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἕλληνας γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον, κ.τ.λ.

He was always exceedingly anxious to stand well with the Greeks. Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος, i. e. ruler of the Macedonians under Persia. ὑπαρχος is used both of the great satraps of the Persian system (cp. *infra* c. 25), and of less important governors, e. g. Mascames at Doriscus vii. 105. 4. Cf. ix. 116. 1 *ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης*.

21. 4. ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρα-

MACEDONIA. B.C. 515; Ol. 66: 2.

δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. μετὰ δὲ χρό- 5
 νῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων
 μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο, καί σφεας Ἀλέξαν-
 δρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ, χρήματά τε δούς πολλά καὶ τὴν
 ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Γυγαίῃ· δούς δὲ ταῦ-
 τα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν 10
 22 διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ^a στρατηγῷ. ὁ μὲν νυν
 τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσι-
 γήθη. Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω
 γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτός τε οὕτω
 τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λό- 5
 γοισι ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν
 Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλληνοδίκαι^b οὕτω ἔγνωσαν

The Macedonian
 Kings
 Hellenic.

^a τῷ στρατηγῷ Valckenaer: τῶν στρατηγῶν Libb.

^b Ἑλλήνων r(sv), Bähr, Van H. post Wess. et Valck.

σκευή. Cf. vii. 83. 10 χωρὶς δὲ χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπῆϊν πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην; ix. 80. 5 ff.

7. καί, 'and yet,' 'and nevertheless.' σφεας, i.e. the men sent to make enquiries.

8. κατέλαβε, 'stopped,' 'checked'; cf. ix. 2. 2 οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον. σοφίῃ, 'by subtlety': *infr.* c. 23 ἀνδρὶ τε Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ.

10. Βουβάρη. Cf. viii. 136. 5. In vii. 21. 6 Bubares, the son of Megabazus, is one of the overseers of the work at the canal of Athos; and, no doubt, the person here mentioned is the same man. At the time of this search Alexander had perhaps succeeded his father on the throne of Macedon.

22. 2. For the Macedonian account of the origin of the Macedonian kings, see viii. 137 ff. Another legend derived them from Caranos, the younger brother or son of Pheidon of Argos. See Abel, *Makedonien*, p. 91 ff., who thinks that the Argos of the legend was not the Peloponnesian Argos, but Argos Oresticum in 'upper' Macedonia. Yet he allows a close connection between the Dorians and Macedonians (Macednians, Herod. i. 56; viii. 43); Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, ii. 272.

7. Ἑλληνοδίκαι. The judges at the Olympic games; ἐδίκαζον δὲ τοῖς τε ἀθληταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγωνισταῖς καὶ προεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἐν πορφυρίσιν (Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 248; see also Hermann, *Gottesdienst. Alt.* p. 327). The number varied with the number of the Elean tribes: Paus. v. 9. 4.

SARDIS. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου^a γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάν-
τος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεῖρ-
10 γόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀ-
γῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε
ὥς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλληνα καὶ ἀγωνιζό-
μενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ 23
ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐν-
θεῦτεν διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἅτε δὲ
τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρεί-
5 ου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθὸν [δωρεὴν^b] φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίας,
έόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν
τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ
ποιεῦμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὥς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς
Σάρδεις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. “ὦ
10 βασιλεῦ, κοῖόν τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληνι δει-

SARDIS.
Darius
recalls
Histiaeus
from
Thrace;

^a βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθλεύειν A B C, Cob., *Mn.* xii. 136.

^b δωρεὴν vel del. vel transp. Dobree, secl. St.: μισθόν del. Schäf.

8. ἐλομένου, 'electing,' 'deciding':
in this sense the word is generally
found with ἀντί or μάλλον ἢ. 'Id est
quum mallet, et sententia postulat,
quum vellet; revoca igitur scrip-
turam librorum veterum A B.'
Cobet. But it is unlikely that any-
one should alter βουλομένου into
ἐλομένου. καταβάντος may mean
'coming from Macedonia to Olym-
pia,' or 'entering the lists.'

13. συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ, 'ran
a dead heat'; 'came out equal
with the first.' Cf. viii. 123. 8
οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα
κρίνοντες. The word, which is
used of votes or opinions, is here
applied to the candidate, to whom
the decision relates. This is better

than the other rendering, 'was
placed by lot in the first pair';
for it is not certain that the com-
petitors ran in pairs, or were allotted
in pairs. Pausanias, vi. 13. 2, in-
forms us that they ran in fours,
and the words στάδιον ἀγωνιζόμενος
naturally refer to the actual contest.
For the imperfect cf. *infr.* 72. 22
ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέ-
πιπτε.

23. 5. δωρεήν. The word is out
of its place; we should expect δωρεὴν
μισθόν (the gen. φυλακῆς depends
on μισθόν). There is also the diffi-
culty that δωρεήν which is generally
adverbial 'as a gift,' is here used =
the thing given. Cf. *infr.* 124 ult.
Yet τὴν requires δωρεήν.

SARDIS. B.C. 515 (?); Ol. 66. 2.

νῶ τε καὶ σοφῶ δούς ἐγκτίσασθαι^a πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ,
 ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κω-
 πέες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα, ὅμιλός τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλ-
 λην περιοικέει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προστάτῳ ἐπι-
 λαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κείνος ἐξηγήται καὶ¹⁵
 ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον
 ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκῆίῳ πολέμῳ συνέχῃ. τρό-
 πῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον· ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν
 περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι κείνος ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπί-
 24 ξεται.” ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἔπειθε
 Δαρεῖον ὥς εὖ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ
 πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔλεγε τάδε.
 “Ἰστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων
 εὐρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι εἶναι οὐ-⁵
 δένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοις ἀλλ’
 ἔργοις οἶδα μαθών. νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα
 μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι^b, ἀπικνέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι
 αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι.” τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ
 Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος¹⁰
 γενέσθαι, ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλε-
 γε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Ἰστιαῖε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶν-
 δε εἵνεκεν. ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ
 σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρήμα οὐ-
 τῶ ἐν βραχεί ἐπεζήτησα ὥς σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους¹⁵
 μοι^c ἀπικέσθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τι-

^a ἐγκτήσασθαι r, Cob., vid. Wess.^b κατεργάσασθαι Cob.^c σοί Cob.

II. ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν, ‘to found
 a city in.’ The word does not occur
 elsewhere except in Plut. *Alex. Fort.*
 i. 5 ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις βαρ-
 βάροις ἔθνεσιν ἐγκτίσας. But there
 seems no reason why Herodotus
 should not have used it. ἐγκτή-

σασθαι—which Wesseling suggested
 —does not suit the context so well,
 and *infr.* 24. 20 we have νεόκτιστον,
supra, II. 7 πόλιν κτίσαι.

24. 15. ἐν βραχεί, ‘brevi,’ ‘pro-
 tinus,’ Schweigh. ‘so schnell,’ Stein.
 Before ἐς λόγους σε must be supplied.

SARDIS. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

μιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος, τά τοι
 ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγμα-
 τα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε
 20 τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι. Μίλητον μὲν ἕα καὶ τὴν νεόκτι-
 στον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν, σὺ δέ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα
 ἔχε τά περ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ
 σύμβουλος.” ταῦτα Δαρεῖος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας 25
 Ἀρταφρένεα ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι
 Σαρδίῳ, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιαῖον,
 Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθλασ-
 5 σίων ἀνδρῶν· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμ-
 βύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιληίων δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ
 χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν
 τὴν ἀνθρωπείην^a, σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἱμάντας

appoints
 Otanes
 general;
 Arta-
 phernes
 satrap;
 and carries
 Histiaeus
 to Susa.

^a ἀνθρωπείην Dindorf: ἀνθρωπήϊην Libb.

17. τά τοι, κ.τ.λ., ‘qualities both of which I can testify from experience (συνειδὼς) that I have found in you (μαρτυρέειν τοι) with reference to my affairs.’

19. εὖ γὰρ . . . ἀπικόμενος, ‘it was kind of you to come to me.’

21. ἐπόμενος, ‘attending me’; cf. ἅμα ἀγόμενος *infra*. 25. 3; 75. 9.

22. σύσσιτος = ὁμοτράπεζος iii. 132. 3; ὁμόσιτος vii. 119. 14. To be admitted to the king’s table was one of the greatest honours which a Persian could receive: cf. iii. *l.c.*

25. 2. ὁμοπάτριον, i.e. by the father’s side only. For the relative position of the satraps and generals, see Appendix I.

5. Σισάμνην. Distinguish from Sisamnes, the son of Hydarnes, vii. 66. 3.

6. τῶν βασιληίων δικαστέων. Herod. iii. 31. 10 f. οἱ δὲ βασιλῆιοι

δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὓς ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφί παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου. οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέεται. Cf. Esther i. 14; Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 6. 1 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἐξηγησιν ἔχουσι παρ’ αὐτοῖς. In iii. 14. 18 they decide on the punishment of the Egyptians for destroying the Mytilenaeen vessel; *ib.* 31 they are consulted by Cambyses about marriage with a sister. For another case of punishment, see Sandoces, vii. 194. 6.

8. σπαδίξας. ἐκδείρας Schol., who also says that σπάδιξ is the bark of the root of the *πρίνος* or maple. If this is right there is some tautology in the text. Stein translates, ‘having tanned’ or ‘cured’ (from the meaning ‘bark’).

THE HELLESPONT. B.C. 515(?); Ol. 66. 2.

Otanés in
the Helles-
pont.

- ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἴζων ἐ-
 δίκαζε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν ¹⁰
 εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε,
 τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνήσθαι ἐν
 26 τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ
 ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γε-
 νόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίης, Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε
 καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἀντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρω-
 άδι γῇ, εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων ⁵
 νέας εἶλε Λήμνόν τε καὶ Ἴμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε
 27 ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεόμενας. οἱ μὲν δὲ Λήμνιοι καὶ
 ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν.
 τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχον ἐπιστᾶσι
 Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου
 ἀδελφεόν. οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευ- ⁵
 τᾷ.† αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε. πάντας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ
 κατεστρέφετο, τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰ-

9. ἐνέτεινε, κ.τ.λ., 'made (lit. stretched) out of them the seat,' etc. Leather straps were used to support the seats of chairs, beds, etc.; cf. ix. 118. 2.

26. 3. Ariston, the tyrant of Byzantium was with Darius in Scythia. Though Darius crossed into Europe over the Bosphorus (iv. 85. 13), he returned over the Hellespont (iv. 143. 1) probably owing to the defection and hostility of the cities.

5. παρὰ Λεσβίων. Their fleet was in the king's service. The years 514-497 B.C. may represent the time during which Lemnos and Imbros were under Persian rule. They were Athenian for a year or two after 496 B.C., but from 493 to 479

again fell under Persian rule. The presence of 'Pelasgians,' i.e. of a non-Greek people, is proved by an inscription recently discovered in Lemnos; cf. *infr.* vi. 137 ff.

27. 2. ἀνὰ χρόνον = τῷ χρόνῳ, Krüger. This chapter is obviously faulty; the second half of it refers to the action of Otanes, not of Lycaretus. Stein considers that the words τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης . . . ἀποκομιζόμενον were intended to follow at the end of c. 26, but (1) the author added as a subsequent note the words, οἱ μὲν δὲ . . . τελευτᾷ; and when these got into their present place in the text (2) the words αἰτίην . . . κατεστρέφετο were inserted to improve the construction. Other editors suppose that some

NAXOS AND MILETUS. B.C. 501; Ol. 69. 4.

τιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνασθαι^a τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν τὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον.

Οὗτος μὲν νυν τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. 28

μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις^b κακῶν ἦν· καὶ ἤρ-
 χετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνε-
 σθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν
 5 νήσων προέφερε, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ
 Μίλητος αὐτῇ τε ἐωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ
 τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μά-
 λιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν· τού-
 10 τοὺς γὰρ καταρτιστῆρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἶλοντο οἱ
 Μιλήσιοι. κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε Πάριοι. ὥς ἀπί- 29

κοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρων
 γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν
 βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώραν. ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα
 5 καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν
 ἐν^c ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγρά-
 φοντο τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ. διεξέλασαντες

^a σίνασθαι St.: σίνεσθαι Libb. ^b ἄνεσις De la Barre: ἄνεος C, ἄνεως cett.

^c ἐν add. Reiske.

words have been lost after τελευτᾷ. For Lycaretus, see iii. 143.

28. 2. ἄνεσις is a correction for the unintelligible ἄνεως of the MSS. How long a time is covered by the 'respite' is unknown. See Appendix, 13, 'On the chronology of the Ionic Revolt.'

7. πρόσχημα, 'glory,' 'pride,' as in Soph. *El.* 682, where the Pythian games are the πρόσχημα of Hellas. κατύπερθε, 'previously,' of time. The first half of the sixth century B.C. is meant. The ferocious cruelties of the rival factions are described

in Athenaeus, p. 524. It may have been in this period that the Milesian resolved to place half his property with Glaucus of Sparta (vi. 86 a); and no doubt the tyranny of Thrasybulus was connected with these στάσεις.

29. 6. ἐν ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ, 'in the general desolation of the country.' Others translate, 'in the upland part of the country,' where the land would be less fertile; so Schweigh. and Krüger. But how is this consistent with πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, which implies that they went through the whole territory of the city?

MILETUS.
Factions
composed
by the
Parians.

NAXOS AND MILETUS. B.C. 501; Ol. 69. 4.

δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους^a,
ὥς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι
ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὐρον τοὺς¹⁰
ἀγροὺς εὐ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν
δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν
σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στα-
σιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι.

30 Πάριοι μὲν νυν Μιλησίους οὕτω κατήρτισαν. τότε δὲ
ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολιῶν ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ
Ῥωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ Μι-
λήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγό-⁵
ρεω, γαμβρός τε ἐὼν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγό-
ρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σούσοισι κατείχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος
τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν
ἐν Σούσοισι, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἐόντες τῷ
Ἰστιαίῳ. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον¹⁰
ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ πως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι
δύναμιν τινα^b καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπι-

Revolution
at NAXOS:
expulsion
of the
oligarchs,

who apply
to Arista-
goras of
Miletus
for help.

^a τοιούτους? St.

^b ἵνα Valck.: ἵνα [καί] Cob.

9. κατέβησαν does not imply descent, but merely approach to the city; cf. καταφυγεῖν, κατελθεῖν. ὥς τάχιστα. Schweigh. maintains that these words, when used together, mean 'as rapidly as possible' in Herodotus, who always places a word between them, when used in the sense 'as soon as possible'; cf. *supr.* 11. 1. So also Van Herwerden, *Mnem.* xiii 'hic igitur requiritur, ὥς κατέβησαν τάχιστα.'

ἀλίην. The word, which is common in Herodotus, is otherwise quoted from inscriptions only.

10. νέμειν, 'manage,' cf. *infr.* 71. 6.

14. τούτων... πείθεσθαι. The genitive is used as if with ὑπακούειν or some word implying inferiority, obedience to; cf. *infr.* 33. 19.

30. 3. τῶν παχέων, 'the substantial.' The word is used of the Chalcidian Hippobotai (*infr.* 77. 13); of the Aeginetan oligarchs (vi. 91. 2); and of the oligarchs of Megara in Sicily (vii. 156. 11). For the state of affairs in Naxos at this time see *History of Greece*, ii. 46.

9. πρὶν = πρότερον.

NAXOS AND MILETUS. B.C. 501; Ol. 69. 4.

λεξάμενος ὥς, ἣν δι' αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἄρ-
 ξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ξεινίην
 15 τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε. “ αὐτὸς μὲν
 ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην
 ὥστε κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Να-
 ξίων· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι
 εἶναι καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν
 20 σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος. ἐπινόεω δὲ τῇδε. Ἀρταφρένης μοι
 τυγχάνει ἐὼν φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὑμῖν Ὑστάσπεος
 μὲν ἐστι παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφεός, τῶν
 δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων
 στρατιήν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω
 25 τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν χρηρίζωμεν.” ταῦτα ἀκού-
 σαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πρήσσειν
 τῇ δύναιτο ἄριστα, καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ
 δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ ὥς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας
 πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα
 30 ποιήσειν τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὥς δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας. τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων
 τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ. ἀπικόμενος 31
 δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτα-
 φρένεα ὥς Νάξος εἴη νῆσος μεγάθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλη,
 ἄλλως δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρή-

Arista-
 goras ap-
 plies to
 Arta-
 phernes

18. ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα, ‘8000
 hoplites.’ The number is as large as
 that of the Spartans in the time of
 Leonidas (vii. 234), and nearly as
 large as that of the Athenians at
 the battle of Marathon. Beloch,
Bevölkerung, p. 181 thinks it im-
 possible unless Naxos had com-
 mand of the forces of the Cyc-
 lades.

26. προσέθεσαν, ‘urged,’ ‘bade.’

Hence there is a slight tautology in
 ἐκέλευον.

31. τῶν γὰρ νήσων, κ.τ.λ. Naxos
 was not acquired by the Persians
 till 490 B.C.

31. 3. μεγάθει...οὐ μεγάλη. Naxos
 is the largest of the Cyclades: nine-
 teen miles by fifteen; but it is small
 in comparison with Euboea or
 Cyprus. It was celebrated for its
 wine, and at the present time the

and
receives
promises
of help.

NAXOS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. “σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύ-
την τὴν χώραν στρατηλάτее, κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς
φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τοι ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν
ἐστὶ ἔτοιμα παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναι-
σιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἡμέας
τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν ἐστί), τοῦτο δὲ νήσους βασιλεί¹⁰
προσκτήσεται αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημέ-
νας, Πάρον καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμέ-
νας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεται Εὐβοίῃ,
νήσῳ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου
καὶ κάρτα εὐπετεὶ αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες¹⁵
ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν
τοῖσιδε. “σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐξηγητῆς^a γίνεαι πρη-
γμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα, πλὴν
τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν διηκόσιαί
τοι ἔτοιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ²⁰
32 αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρι-
σταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, περιχαρὴς ἔων ἀπήιε ἐς
Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα
καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέ-
παινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρείος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν⁵
διηκοσίας τριήρεας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὄμιλον Περσέων

^a ἐξηγητῆς Madv., Van H.

Persian
expedition
against
Naxos:
500 B.C.

island is said to produce ‘corn, oil, wine, and fruit of the finest description.’ Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Head, *Hist. Num.* 416 speaks of the ‘massive archaic silver money’ of Naxos.

9. τῇ στρατιῇ with τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων, ‘what is expended on the army’ (εἰς τὴν στρατιάν Attic).

11. τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας. Nothing has been recorded of this supremacy of Naxos over the

neighbouring islands, but it is reasonable to attribute it to Lygdamis, who would have the support of Peisistratus on the one hand, and Polycrates on the other.

17. ἐξηγητῆς is properly an ‘expounder,’ as in iii. 31. 13; here it means a ‘proposer.’ Hence ἐξηγητῆς has been suggested. οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος, ‘the king’s house,’ i. e. family: so vi. 9. 15; vii. 194. 11 and elsewhere.

NAXOS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων
 ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων,
 ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν, τοῦ Πausανίης ὁ
 10 Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ
 λόγος, ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρω-
 τα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ
 Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρα-
 τὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα. παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγα- 33
 βάτης ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα καὶ τὴν
 Ἰάδα στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπ'
 Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας
 5 ἐς Καύκασα, ὥς ἐνθεῦτεν βορρῇ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον
 διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους
 ἀπολέσθαι πρῆγμα τοιόνδε συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περι-
 ιόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ
 νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσω· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τι
 10 ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν
 ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεός, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦ-
 τον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμίας διελόντας^a τῆς νεὸς κατὰ τοῦτο,

^a διέλκοντας St. in ann.: διελῶντας Wess.

32. 8. τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, i. e. of
 the royal family to which both Hys-
 taspes and Cyrus belonged, i. 125:
 see Stemma in Appendix 2.

10. εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε, κ.τ.λ. Hero-
 dotus evidently did not believe that
 Pausanias was as bad as he was
 painted by other historians; cf. viii.
 3 πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίῳ ὕβριν
 προῖσχύμενοι ἀπέειλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. The account
 here given differs from that in Thu-
 cydides, who says that Pausanias
 wished to marry the daughter of
 Xerxes (he quotes his letter to the
 King), and that Megabates was re-
 moved from his satrapy at Dascy-

leum, in order that Artabazus and
 Pausanias might lay their plans:
 Thuc. i. 128. For discrepancies be-
 tween Herod. and Thuc. see vi. App. 1.

33. 3. πρόφασιν, adverbial.

5. Καύκασα. The exact position
 is unknown, but no doubt the harbour
 lay on the south side of Chios.

6. οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε, 'it was not fated.'
 So i. 8 χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι
 κακῶς, ii. 161. 7 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε
 κακῶς γενέσθαι and often.

9. δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος. The τι
 intensifies the force of δεινόν, as is
 often the case.

12. θαλαμίας. The port-hole of
 the lowest rank of oars; join with

NAXOS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

Quarrel of
the com-
manders.

ἔξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῦντας ἔσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἔξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεινόν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαίνοιτο.¹⁵ ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέετο τὸν Πέρσην, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι^a τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο²⁰ πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις; ” ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὁ δὲ θυμωθείς τούτοις, ὡς νύξ ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοίῳ ἄνδρας φράσσοντας τοῖσι Ναξίοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρή-
34 γματα. οἱ γὰρ ὦν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνεύκοντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ^b τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν⁵ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφί πολέμου· οἱ δ' ἐπεῖτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον

The
Naxians
are warn-
ed; and the
expedition
fails.

^a καὶ τούτοις πρήγμα τί Valck.

^b κατὰ τάχος Dietsch-Kallenberg, quos vid. ad loc.: ἐφράξαντο Höger.

τῆς νεός. διελόντας . . . κατὰ τοῦτο ‘dividing him in this way.’ The body was not of course divided, but as half was within, and half without the ship, it might be so spoken of. Wesseling suggested διελώντας. Stein proposes διέλκοντας, Herwerden prefers διέντας, thinking the aorist necessary, and removing ποιεῦντας, which is very improbable.

21. τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις; ‘why do you meddle?’

34. 1. οὐδὲν πάντως, ‘not in the

least,’ cf. οὐ πάνυ.

5. ἐσάξαντο (1) from σάττεσθαι, ‘strengthened’; (2) from ἐσάγειν (aor. mid.), cf. i. 190. 9 προεσάξαντο σιτία, and viii. 20. 3: in this case καὶ must be omitted before τεῖχος. ‘Non facile reperietur, qui praeter Herodotum adhibuerit ἄξασθαι, ἐσάξασθαι, προεσάξασθαι’ Valck. Dietsch will not allow σάττεσθαι in the sense ‘repair,’ or the middle aorist of ἄγειν. He refers ἐσάξαντο (from σάττεσθαι) to the food, in the sense, ‘lay up stores of.’

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

μῆνας τέσσερας. ὥς δὲ τά τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα
 10 οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδεδαπάνητό σφι, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
 Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναισίμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλευνός τε
 ἐδέετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν
 Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον,
 κακῶς πρήσσοντες. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπό- 35
 σχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπίεζε μιν
 ἢ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρώδεε τε τοῦ
 στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλη-
 5 μένος, ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιληίην τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρεθῆ-
 σεσθαι. ἀρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλευέτο ἀπό-
 στασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν
 ἀπῖχθαι ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπί-
 στασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέος. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος
 10 βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι ἄλλως
 μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλές σημῆναι ὥστε φυλασσομε-
 νέων τῶν ὁδῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀπο-
 ξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφῦναι τὰς
 τρίχας, ὥς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλη-
 15 τον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπί-
 κηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά
 μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν· τὰ δὲ
 στίγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται,
 ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίεε συμφορὴν

MILETUS:
 Aristago-
 ras resolves
 to raise
 Ionia.
 Message of
 Histiaeus.

12. **τείχεα**, 'fortresses,' from which they could attack the enemy—such as that on Istos, occupied by the nobles in the great Corcyrean sedition.

35. 7. **συνέπιπτε**, 'it happened'; here with the additional notion of happening at the same time with something else (see 36. 2). **τὸν ἐστιγμένον**. Herodotus speaks as if the story of the slave were already

known to his readers. **σημαίνοντα** = **κελεύοντα**, hence the construction.

11. **φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν**. Cf. *infr.* 52. 8.

12. **ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων κ.τ.λ.** The story is repeated by Aulus Gellius, xvii. 9. 18 ff., who adds that the slave had long suffered from a disease of the eyes, which the shaving was supposed to cure.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἐωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν 20
Σούσοισι· ἀποστάσιος ὦν γινομένης πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλ-
πίδας μετήσσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι
ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἥξειν ἔτι ἐλο-
γίζετο.

Advice of
Hecataeus.

36 Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν
ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου
πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν μετὰ τῶν
στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἐωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ
παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπιγμένα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες 5
γνώμην κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστα-
σθαι. Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πό-
λεμον βασιλεί τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τὰ
τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἦρχε Δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐ-
τοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποι- 10
εῖν ὅπως ναυκρατέες^a τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. ἄλλως
μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο
(ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων εἶναι
ἀσθενέα), εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταιρεθείη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ

^a τῆς θαλάσσης om. Krüg.: ναυκράτορες sine τῆς θ. Cob.

36. 2. συνέπιπτε . . . συνελθόντα,
'all these things happened to come
together at the same time.'

7. Ἐκαταῖος. Hecataeus of Mile-
tus is the only prose author mentioned
by name in Herodotus, who also
notices his journey to Thebes (ii.
143); his advice to Aristagoras after
the failure of the revolt (*infr.* 125,
126); and his account of the Pelasgi
at Athens (vi. 137). For an account
of him, see Smith's *Dict. Biog.*

Λογοποιός = λογογράφος, a word
which Herodotus does not use.

8. καταλέγων, κ.τ.λ. as we might
expect from the greatest historian of

his time.

11. ναυκρατέες τῆς θαλάσσης.
The phrase is remarkable; (1)
ναυκρατέες is only found here; (2)
τῆς θαλάσσης seems otiose. We
should expect either ναυκράτορες (vi.
9. 7) without τῆς θαλάσσης (Cobet,
Van H.) or θαλασσοκράτορες (*infr.*
83. 7). Yet we may compare such
redundant compounds as ἄσκειος
ἀσπίδων, ἄπαις γόνου, etc.

12. ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον, 'saw that this
would be.' i. 123. 4 ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐκ
ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην. i. 170. 9
οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσ-
ομένην.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

15 ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθη-
κε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσῃν τῆς θαλάσσης,
καὶ οὕτω αὐτοὺς τε ἔξῃν τοῖσι^a χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦ-
τα μεγάλα, ὥς δεδήλωταί μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων.
20 αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπί-
στασθαι, ἓνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, Arrest of
συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας the Persian
στρατηγούς. ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ 37
τοῦτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλιος^b Μυ-
λασσεά καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα καὶ Κώην Ἐρ-
ξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρεῖος Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρι-

^a τοῖσι add. St.^b Ἰβανώλλιος A B C, St.

15. The temple of Apollo at Branchidae lay in the territory of Miletus, at a short distance from the coast, with which it was connected by a 'Sacred Way,' 'bordered on either side with statues on chairs, of a single block of stone, with the feet close together, and the hands on the knees, an exact imitation of the avenues of the temples in Egypt.' Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 239. For the offerings of Croesus, see i. 46. 13; 92. 8; and for the connection with Egypt, see ii. 159. 9; 178. *ult.* The temple was destroyed by the Persians.

19. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων, i. e. in his Lydian history, i. 92. Herodotus often refers to parts of his book as λόγος or λόγοι, but this is the only passage in which he speaks of a definite order. We do not find ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν λόγων κ.τ.λ., though we have ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι (*supr.* 22. 5). Of course this division has nothing to

do with the nine books of our modern arrangement.

21. Myus lay on the Maeander, near the mouth of the river. The generals were, for the most part, the tyrants of the various cities; by arresting them Aristagoras and his party deprived the cities of those who led them in the interest of Persia.

37. 2. Ibanolis: see *infr.* 121. 8. The name is Carian, like Aridolis, vii. 195, and the well-known Mausolus. Mylasa was the most important of the cities of Caria; the seat of the two great temples of the race, Zeus-Osogo, and Zeus of Labranda, a village close to Mylasa; see Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Herod. i. 171. 26; *infr.* 119. 8.

3. Tymnes is also a Carian name. In the tribute lists of the next century we find a number of Carians united under the command of a certain Tymnes: Κάρες ὧν Τύμνης ἄρχει C. I. A. i. 240.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

Suppres-
sion of the
tyrants in
Ionia.

σταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew Κυμαῖον καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, 5
οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε,
πάν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανεόμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ
μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίει τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς
ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίαιτο, μετὰ δὲ
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίει, τοὺς μὲν 10
ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ
τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τούτους δὲ
φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι τῇσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον
38 ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς, ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος. Κώην
μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξα-
γαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν
ἀπῆκαν· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι^a οἱ πλεῖνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράν-
νων μὲν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας. Ἀρι- 5
σταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε,
στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἐκάστους
καταστήσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπό-
στολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινὸς οἱ μεγάλης
ἐξευρεθῆναι.

Aristago-
ras visits
Sparta.^a οἱ ἄλλοι s. : ὅλλοι St.

8. ἰσονομίην is a word which is consistent with an oligarchical or a democratical form of government: (1) ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος: Thuc. iii. 62 (cf. ἰσοκρατία v. 92 a 4); (2) πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει ἰσονομίην Herod. iii. 80. 26 (cf. ἰσηγορίη v. 78. 2). Aristagoras would hardly establish a democracy,—that was done later by Mardonius—but he put the power into the hands of those who ruled the cities before Persia set up tyrants in them. Compare the action of Maeandrius at Samos, as described in iii. 142. 15.

38. 1. Κώην. Coes was recently

established as tyrant; and was moreover of humble origin (δημότης *supra*, 11 ult. Cf. ii. 172 δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔοντα, καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος). His treatment would have been different, had he belonged to the higher classes.

7. στρατηγούς, 'generals' in the sense in which the word was used at Athens in the time of Pericles; i.e. not merely leaders of the army, but executive officers, acting under authority, holding yearly office, and responsible for their conduct.

8. ἀπόστολος. Cf. i. 21. 6 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν.

9. ἔδεε γάρ, κ.τ.λ. Two constructions seem to be confused: (1) ἔδεε οἱ

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκ- 39
 ἔτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης
 δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω εἶχε τὴν βασιληίην, οὐ κατ' ἀν-
 δραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ
 5 ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ εὐρύσης
 ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίας, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. τούτου
 δὲ τοιούτου ἐόντος οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι
 αὐτὸν “ εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ'
 ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτόν, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθέneos γενέσθαι ἐξί-
 10 τηλον. σύ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεῖτε τοι οὐ
 τίκτει, ἔξεο^a, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρ-
 τιήτησι ἀδήσεις.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο φὰς τούτων οὐδέτερα
 ποιήσιν, ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παραινέον-
 τας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα εὐρύσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐωυτῷ,
 15 ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδέ σφι πείσεσθαι.

The wives
of Anaxan-
dridas.^a ἔξεο Schäf. : ἐκσέο Libb. : ἔξες Eltz.

συμμαχίης, and (2) ἔδεε συμμαχίην
 ἐξευρεθῆναι.

39. 1. οὐκέτι περιεὼν ἐβασίλευε.
 The negative has to do duty twice,
 with participle and with verb, un-
 less we prefer to say that περιεὼν
 ἐβασίλευε make up one notion: ‘sur-
 vived on the throne.’ The date of
 the accession of Cleomenes cannot
 be fixed precisely, but it must have
 been about 520 B.C.; see Appendix 3.
 The history of Anaxandridas is partly
 given in i. 67 f.—a passage with
 which the reader is supposed to be
 acquainted; cp. the reference to Book
 i. in c. 36. 18.

6. καταθυμία = θυμαρής of Homer.
 This exercise of supervision by the
 ephors over the king is evidence of
 the growing authority of that office,
 which may have received fresh

powers in the time of Chilon (about
 570 B.C.), who would be con-
 temporary with Leon, the father of
 Anaxandridas. With this marriage
 of a niece, cf. the marriage of an
 aunt in vi. 71. Leonidas married
 the daughter of his half-brother
 Cleomenes.

9. Εὐρυσθέneos. Eurysthenes was
 the elder of the sons of Aristo-
 demus, cf. vi. 52. 39.

11. ἔξεο. So Schäfer for the
 ἐκσέο of the MSS. The word is
 not elsewhere found in the sense
 required, but *infr.* 40. 6 we have
 ἐξέσιος. Just below, l. 14, ἀπέντα
 is used for the same thing. For
 the variation of the voice and
 preposition, see ἐκπέμπειν i.
 59. 11, and ἀποπεμψάμενος vi.
 63. 2.

SPARTA. After B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

40 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε. “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὁρῶμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίεε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἄλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῇται βουλεύσωνται. γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις 5 οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος· σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νυν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν.” ταῦτά κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο δι-

41 ξὰς ἰστίας οἴκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικά. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ ἐσύστερον^a ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔπεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκύησε, 5 συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη. ἔχουσιν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεί

Birth of
CLEOME-
NES; of
Dorieus,
Leonidas
and Cleom-
brotus.

^a ὕστερον ἐπεσελθοῦσα St.

40. 1. οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες. These formed a supreme court; at any rate we read (Paus. iii. 5. 3) that Pausanias, the king, on his return to Sparta from Athens in 403 B.C. was brought to trial by his enemies: βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθισον οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας.

4. ἄλλοῖον = νεώτερον, νεοχρόν.

8. ταῦτά κη. κη modifies ταῦτα, and conveys the impression that the conversation is imaginary; cf. i. 97 ult. where Herodotus puts words into the mouth of the friends of Deioces. Bigamy was unknown in Hellas, though bigamous arrangements were by no means uncommon

at Sparta (see Plut. *Lycurg.* 15) with the object of securing a sound and healthy progeny. Polybius even asserts that polyandry existed among the Spartans, xii. 6. *b* πατριον ἦν καὶ συνῆθες τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀδελφοὺς ὄντας. He also adds, καὶ γεννήσαντας παῖδας ἱκανοὺς ἐκδόσθαι γυναῖκά τινι τῶν φίλων, καλὸν καὶ συνῆθες. [Cf. De Coulanges, *Nouvelles Recherches*, p. 72.]

41. 2. ἐσύστερον. The use is unique, the word being elsewhere used for what has still to happen; see critical note.

3. ἔπεδρον βασιλέα, i.e. ‘heir apparent’; one who would take the place of the reigning king.

6. συντυχίῃ, κ.τ.λ., ‘such was her ill fortune’;—to have a child

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 515; Ol. 66. 1.

λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκήιοι πυθόμενοι
 ὥχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην
 ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου
 10 συντάμνοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν
 γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. ἡ δὲ ὥς ἔτεκε Δωριέα,
 ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει
 Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεόμβρο-
 τον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἡ δὲ Κλεομένηα τεκοῦσα
 15 καὶ [τὸ]^a δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνή, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρι-
 νητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.
 ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὥς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενῆρης 42
 ἀκρομανῆς τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων
 πρῶτος, εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχή-
 σων τὴν βασιληίην. ὥστε ὦν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ
 5 τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώ-
 μενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον
 Κλεομένηα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ
 ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεῶν
 Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε εἰς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρη-

Cleomenes
 becomes
 King;
 DORIEUS
 leads a
 colony
 to the
 Cinyps

^a τὸ secl. St.

after the second wife; cf. συμφορὴ
infr. 82. 3. ἔχουσιν, sc. ἐν γαστρί.

10. συντάμνοντος, 'coming on.'
 Time is spoken of as a person
 hastening on his way (συντάμνειν,
 sc. τὴν ὁδόν, as in vii. 123. 2).

15. [τὸ] δεύτερον. It seems
 necessary to omit the article, for
 τὸ δ. = 'a second time'; Aesch. *Ag.*
 1082 ἀπωλέσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύ-
 τερον, but δεύτερον is = 'afterwards,'
 cf. i. 185. 1 ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη
 ταύτης βασιλεία.

16. Demarmenus was apparently
 a son of the famous Chilon; see
 vi. 65. 7.

42. 1. οὐ φρενῆρης ἀκρομανῆς τε.
 Cf. ix. 55. 12 μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ
 φρενῆρεα. The analogy of some
 compounds of ἀκρο- would lead
 us to translate ἀκρομανῆς, 'very
 mad'; but from vi. 75. 5 we see
 that it is = ὑπομαργότερος, and it
 was only in his last year that Cleo-
 menes broke out into furious insanity.
 ἀκρο-, then, is = 'on the surface,'
 'slightly.'

9. τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ,
 according to the invariable custom
 of colonists; see *Hist. Greece*, i. p.
 361. Stein quotes Cicero, *Divin.* i. 3
 quam vero Graecia coloniam misit

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

στηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴη, οὔτε ποιή-
 σας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἶα δὲ βαρέως φέρων,
 ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην^a τὰ πλοιά· κατηγέοντο δέ οἱ ἄν-
 δρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Λιβύην οἰκισε χῶρον
 κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν^b; ἐξελασθεῖς
 δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε^c Λιβύων καὶ¹⁵

Failing on
the Cinyps,

43 Καρχηδονίων ἀπρίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ἐνθαῦτα δέ οἱ
 Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου
 χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείην^d τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἐρυ-

^a Λιβύην St.: τὴν Κίνυπα r: Κίνυπα cett.^b Κίνυπα ποταμόν St.: ποταμόν Libb.: ποταμόν Κίνυπα Krüg.: τοῦτον τὸν π. Van H.^c τε Niebuhr: τε καί Libb.^d Ἡράκλειαν A B C: 'fort. Ἡρακλέην γῆν' St.

in Aeoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Sici-
 liam, Italiam sine Pythio aut Do-
 donaeo, aut Hammonis oraculo?

12. Λιβύην is Stein's emendation
 for Κίνυπα. It is awkward to have
 the precise situation of the colony
 followed by the general description
 ἐς Λιβύην in the next line. Hence
 this emendation is better than Van
 Herwerden's, see critical note.
 Through their colony of Cyrene,
 founded about 630 B.C., the
 Theraeans would be well acquainted
 with the African coast. Thera also
 was claimed as a colony by Sparta;
 see iv. 147 ff. The river Cinyps
 flowed from a wooded hill called
 the hill of the Graces, through the
 country of the Macae to the sea.
 The land round it was the most
 fertile in Libya. The river was
 about midway between Cyrene and
 Carthage, and it is interesting to
 find the Carthaginians supporting
 the natives against the colonists.

15. As the Macae were them-
 selves Libyans, we must either insert

ἄλλων after καί (MSS.) or omit
 καί.

43. 2. Eleon was a small town
 in Boeotia, a land famous for oracles
 and prophets. Among these last
 Bacis held a prominent place, see
 viii. 20. 77 etc. Hence Valckenaer
 suggested Βάκιδος here, while Dobree
 would read Λάσου (cf. vii. 6. 16). The
 supposed oracles of Laius are those
 collected by or given to L. As a
 Boeotian Antichares may have been
 acquainted with them.

3. There is much doubt what is
 meant by 'Heraclea in Sicily,' for
 there was no city of that name in
 the country of Eryx, Heraclea Minoa
 lying on the south coast of the
 island. Yet the article implies an
 existing city, which Dorieus is to
 make a Greek colony. Stein sug-
 gests the insertion of γῆν before τὴν.
 On the story see Freeman's *Sicily*,
 ii. 85 ff., and for Heraclea in Sicily,
ib. 209 ff.; 504 ff. (Heracles, in this
 context, is no doubt the Tyrian
 Melkart.) Eryx was the city and

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

κος χώραν πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτη- Dorieus
 5 σαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἶχeto χρησό- sails to
 μένος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώ- Sicily,
 ρην· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν. παραλαβὼν δὲ
 Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο
 παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην. τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὥς λέγουσι 44
 Συβαρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν stopping
 βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ on the way
 Κροτωνιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους δεηθῆναι Δωριέος at Croton.
 5 σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι
 τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν.
 ταῦτα μὲν νυν Συβαρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε
 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι
 φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πο-
 10 λέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἠλείον

stronghold of the Elymi in the north-west of Sicily.

4. Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου. On the same ground the Dorians attempted to justify their occupation of the Peloponnesus. Even at a much later date the Athenians gave out that the land round Amphipolis, which they wished to possess, had been the dowry of Phyllis, the wife of Demophon, son of Theseus (Schol. Aeschin. *De falsa Leg.* § 31).

9. παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην, i.e. Italy in the narrower sense = the southern part of the peninsula from Tarentum onwards; see *Hist. of Greece*, ii. p. 473. παρὰ = 'along the coast of.'

44. 1. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, i.e. about 510 B.C. if we may venture to fix the date by the fall of Sybaris.

2. Telys is called βασιλεύς here and τύραννος below. Busolt would

explain the difference by the fact that we have two different accounts compared; the Sybarite and the Crotoniate, the same man being βασιλεύς in the one and τύραννος in the other (*Gesch. Gr.* ii. 238, note; see Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 434, 435). But cf. *infra*. 113 ὁ Σολίων βασιλεύς . . . τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος αἶνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα, 46. 10, 11, where τυραννίς varies with μοναρχεῖν, and *supr.* 35. 5. In the account given by Diodorus Telys is a demagogue who, having obtained supreme influence in Sybaris, persuades the Sybarites to banish 500 of the leading citizens and confiscate their property (xii. 9).

7. Συβαρίται λέγουσι, cf. 1. 2. Herodotus may have heard the story from the Sybarites who were settled in Thurii.

10. The Iamids were the foremost race or clan of prophets in Elis.

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

μοῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ
 Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας,
 ἐπεῖτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ
 45 Κρότωνα. ταῦτα ^a δὲ οὔτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ
 τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέ-
 μενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράθιν ^b, τὸν
 ιδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθη-
 ναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ ^b. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν 5
 θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ
 μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέ-
 πρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἶλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυ-
 κίνην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ
 ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύ- 10
 σι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτω-
 νιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ
 Καλλίῳ ἀπόγονοι, Δωριεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπο-
 γόνοισι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαρι-
 τικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἢ 15
 Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀπο-

^a δέ Wess.: δὲ οὐχ A B r: δὲ οὐκ C P: δ' αὖ Bekk.: τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω Gomp.

^b Κράθιν et Κραθίῃ Wess.: κράστιν et κραστίῃ Libb.

They officiated as seers at the altar of Zeus at Olympia; cf. ix. 33. 5. The story of Iamus is told by Pindar, *Ol.* vi.

13. ἐπὶ Κρότωνα. The dative is more common, as in 37. 7 πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος, ix. 10. 13 θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, etc.

45. 3. τὸν ξηρὸν Κράθιν, the dry bed of the Crathis. The city of Sybaris lay between the Crathis, a river of considerable size, and the Sybaris. When they destroyed the city, the Crotoniates turned the

waters of the Crathis upon the site, so as to destroy every vestige, and by this means it was diverted from its old bed; Strabo, p. 263. For Sybaris see Lenormant, *La grande Grèce*, i. p. 223 ff.; 290 ff.

13. τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνουσι. Taken literally, the words would imply that Dorieus left some descendants behind him, but this is doubtful: for though we hear of a Euryanax, son of Dorieus (ix. 10), we do not know that this is our Dorieus; *infr.* c. 48.

SICILY. Circa B.C. 510 Ol. 67. 3.

φαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν,
 τούτοις προσχωρεῖν. συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι 46
 συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης Dorieus
 καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ slain in
 στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ Sicily:
 5 τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων· μῦνος δὲ Εὐρυλέων Euryleon
 τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθους. συλ- at Selinus.
 λαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε
 Μινῶην τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου
 Σελινουσίου τοῦ μυνάρχου Πειθαγόρεω. μετὰ δὲ ὡς
 10 τοῦτον κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούντος
 καὶ ἐμυνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελι-
 νούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς
 ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ 47
 Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τή- Philippus
 λυος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, of Croton.
 ψευθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ
 5 ταύτης δὲ ὀρμεόμενος συνέσπετο οἰκῆϊ τε τριήρεϊ καὶ

46. 5. Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων. The Phoenicians of Motye joined with the Elymians of Segesta in resisting the new settlement, and in fact, these two barbarian nations were always ready to join against the Greeks.

8. Minoa lay on the south coast between Selinus and Agrigentum. Originally a Phoenician settlement, it was colonized subsequently by the Greeks; perhaps it now received the name Heraclea. See Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 96. Euryleon was no doubt invited by the enemies of the tyrant Peithagoras, of whom, however, nothing is known. The

Selinuntians were colonists of the Megarians.

47. 1. That Philippus should be banished from Croton for his suit to the daughter of Telys is a proof of the animosity of the Crotoniates to the tyrant or demagogue; and that he sailed to Cyrene, and returned in time to join Dorieus, proves that the animosity existed for some time before the final outburst.

5. οἰκῆϊ τε τριήρεϊ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Cleinias at Artemisium, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκῆϊν παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκῆϊ νηὶ viii. 17. 6.

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

οἰκίῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνη, ἐὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνεύκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἠρώιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται.

10

48 Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε^a ἂν Λακεδαίμονος· οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἅπαις, θυγατέρα μούνην λιπών, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ.

5

49 Ἀπικνέεται δὲ ὦν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἦιε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδῳ ἐνετέτμητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. ἀπικνεόμε-
5 νος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε.

ARISTA-
GORAS AT
SPARTA.
His inter-
view with
Cleomenes.

^a ἐβασίλευσε Krüg. : ἐβασίλευε Libb.

7. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος. For hero-worship see Appendix 12. This admiration of beauty is seen in the treatment of the corpse of Masistius, ix. 25. 8, which was carried in a cart along the Greek lines at Plataea, that all might see it.

48. 4. Cleomenes must have reigned till 491 B. C., if not later (see Appendix 3); his reign therefore lasted about thirty years. But he was succeeded by his brother Leonidas, who was younger than Dorieus. Had Dorieus left any descendants, they would have been heirs to the throne, unless we suppose that he lost his right to the succession by settling in a foreign country, which Heracleids were forbidden to do on pain of death (Plut. *Agis*, 11).

Yet Dorieus has the permission of the Spartans for his colony, c. 42. 8.

49. 4. The oldest map known to the Greeks was that made by Anaximander of Miletus. On the subject see Strabo, p. 7, who quotes Eratosthenes, the great geographer of Alexandria, to the effect that the first geographers of note, after Homer, were two, Anaximander and Hecataeus: τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πῖνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἑκαταῖον καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς. Whether Hecataeus constructed a map is therefore not quite certain; Agathemerus, however, stated that he greatly improved the map of Anaximander, ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα (Agath. i. 1 quoted by Stein).

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

“Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς
 ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξιος· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. Ἰώ-
 νων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ
 10 ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν
 ὑμῖν, ὅσω προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν
 τῶν Ἑλληνίων ρύσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἀνδρας
 ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν
 ἐστί· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοί εἰσι, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ
 15 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι. ἢ
 τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα·
 ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρ-
 βασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι
 εἰσί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νε-
 20 μομένοισι ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι^a συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ
 ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ

^a οὐδὲ συνάπασι τοῖσι Krüg.

8. τὰ κατήκοντα, ‘what has come upon me,’ i.e. my circumstances; cf. καταλαμβάνειν, κατέχειν in vi. 40. 2, 10.

11. προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. The Spartans had been acknowledged heads of Greece since the time of Croesus; cf. i. 56, 69; i. 152. 14, where Lacrines is sent to Sardis to convey to Cyrus Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περι-οφόμενων.

13. χωρέειν, ‘succeed’; *infr.* 89. 13 καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται.

16. μάχη, ‘mode of fighting.’ For the armour of the Persians see vii. 61. Aristagoras does not mention that the best armed wore coats of mail (cf. ix. 22. 12; viii. 113. 10, where Mardonius selects Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους). Bowmen and

javelin-men (ἀκοντισταί) were found in the Grecian armies; the Athenians, for instance, had a force of 1800 archers in 431 B.C., and see ix. 22. 3: yet their strength lay in the heavy armed; and the contrast between the two nations is the contrast between the spear and the bow; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 239, 240 ΑΓ. πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χεροῖν αὐτοῖς πρέπει; ΧΟΡ. οὐδαμῶς· ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σάγαι.

17. ἀναξυρίδας. For the Greek view of these garments see Eur. *Cycl.* 182 τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς ποικίλους περὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν.

κυρβασίας. Cf. vii. 64. 5 κυρβασίας ἐς ὅξυν ἀπηγμένας. In vii. 61. 2 we have τιάρας καλεομένους πίλους ἀπαγέας (soft). The Greeks wore helmets.

20. ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ‘be-

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

Aristagoras
describes
Asia from
a map.

ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐ-
τοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε^a. κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὥς ἐγὼ
φράσω, Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοί, οἰκέοντές τε χώ-
ρην ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες.” δεικνὺς δὲ²⁵
ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν
τῷ πίνακι ἐντετμημένην. “Λυδῶν δέ” ἔφη λέγων ὁ
Ἀρισταγόρης “οἶδε ἔχονται Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ,
πολυπροβατώτατοί τε ἐόντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ
πολυκαρπότατοι. Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς³⁰
ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν. τούτοις δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες,
κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, ἐν τῇ ἦδε Κύπρος νῆ-
σος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεί τὸν ἐπέτειον
φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλικῶν δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι
οἶδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἐόντες πολυπρόβατοι, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Μα-³⁵
τιηνοὶ χώραν τήνδε ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἡδε
Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κεί-
μενά ἐστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, ἐνθα βασιλεύς τε μέγας
δίαιταν ποιέεται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν-
θαῦτα εἰσὶ· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες⁴⁰
ἤδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας

^a σχοίητε? St.: σχοίτε Van H.

ginning with gold.’ The dative is to be taken with ἐστί in the same sense as in Soph. *O. T.* 616 καλῶς ἔλεξεν εὐλαβουμένῳ πεσεῖν.

22. θυμῷ βουλόμενοι, ‘if only you set your hearts upon them.’

25. πολυαργυρώτατοι, with reference no doubt to the wealth of Pactolus, though this river, strictly speaking, brought down gold. The riches of the Lydian kings were of course proverbial, and the Spartans had themselves received gold from Croesus, i. 69. 18.

29. πολυπροβατώτατοι. For the riches of Phrygia in sheep cf. Strabo, 578. In *Il.* iii. 184 the land is called ἀμπελόεσσα.

38. τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, lit. ‘the Susa of which we speak.’ Susa as the king’s residence was the place of chief interest. Aristagoras does not point to it on the map, as he has done hitherto, or we should have τάδε.

41. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας . . . Ἀργείους. The translation of this sentence is uncertain: (1) μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι may be = ‘pugnas sus-

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν
 χρεὸν ἐστὶ ὑμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσση-
 νίους ἐόντας ἰσοπαλέας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους,
 45 τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου,
 τῶν πέρι καὶ τίνα ἐνάγει προθυμίῃ μαχόμενον ἀποθνή-
 σκειν· παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως,
 ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε;" Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε,
 Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀνα-
 βάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινέεσθαι^a." τότε 50
 μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐγέ-
 νετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος^a καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἵ-
 ρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων
 5 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ
 Ἀρισταγόρης τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνον
 εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλῃ· χρεὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν,
 βουλόμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέ-
 γει δ' ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ
 10 ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρ-
 μητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε "ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε,
 ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ

50
 Second
 interview.
 The dis-
 tance to
 Susa.
 Cleomenes
 refuses aid.

^a ὑποκρινέεσθαι, ὑποκρίσιος Bekk.: ἀπο- Libb.

cipere, nisi ἀναλαβέσθαι legendum.
 So Schwgh. and Liddell and Scott,
 who suggest 'risk a battle,' and
 Krüger, who thinks that ἀναβ. may
 here = ἀναιρεῖσθαι; (2) the meaning
 may be 'put off,' 'defer'; cf. just
 below, ἀναβάλλομαι ὑποκρινέεσθαι.
 The interrogative must then be
 translated: 'Ought you *not* to de-
 fer?'

42. οὕτω χρηστῆς, 'very good,'
 so good that you should fight about
 it. Wars with the Messenians had
 ceased for a century, and the nation

could not now be said to be equal
 to the Spartans; but the struggle
 had been one of the most memor-
 able in Spartan history (first war,
 743-724 B.C.; second war, 645 -?
 B.C.).

49. ἀναβάλλομαι ὑποκρινέεσθαι.
 In vi. 86. β. 12 we have ἀναβάλλο-
 μαι κυρώσειν, which supports the
 future: in ix. 8. 2 ἀναβάλλομαι ὑπο-
 κρίνασθαι, where Cobet reads ὑπο-
 κρινέεσθαι; cf. vi. 2. 5 note, and
infra. 106. 31.

50. 6. διαβάλλων, 'deceiving.'

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

Third
interview:
Gorgo.

λόγον εὐεπέα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας
 51 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ
 Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἦιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγό-
 ρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦιε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ
 ἔσω ἅτε ἱκετεύων ἐπακούσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα
 ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεο- 5
 μένῃ ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δέ οἱ
 καὶ μῦνον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα
 ἡλικίην. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται
 μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρι-
 σταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα τάλάντων ὑπισχνεόμενος, ἦν 10
 οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομέ-
 νεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγό-
 ρης, ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ
 παιδίον ἠὺδάξατο “πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἦν
 μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴης.” ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἡσθεὶς τοῦ παι- 15
 δίου τῇ παραινέσι ἦιε ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστα-
 γόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδέ
 οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς
 παρὰ βασιλέα.

52 Ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε. σταθμοί τε

13. εὐεπέα, ‘pleasant to the ear,’
 ‘acceptable.’ It is remarkable that
 Cleomenes dismisses Aristagoras
 without any reference to the ephors
 whatever; yet in the parallel case
 of Maeandrius he calls in the power
 of the ephors, iii. 148. 14. Does
 this imply that in the interim he
 had acquired greater authority?

51. 3. ἱκετηρίην, ‘a suppliant’s
 branch,’ i.e. a branch of olive
 wreathed with wool; cf. vii. 141. 5,
 where, after the first unfavourable
 answer at Delphi, the Athenian

envoys were advised by Timon to
 take a ἱκετηρίην and approach the
 god as ἵκεται, and also the opening
 scene of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and
 the *Iliad*. The prayers of a sup-
 pliant must at least be heard, if not
 answered, and his person was safe.

6. Gorgo subsequently became
 the wife of Leonidas; see vii. 239. 22.

18. ἐπὶ πλέον, ‘any further,’ i.e.
 in any greater detail.

52. 1. This royal road from
 East to West, was but one of a
 number which united the various

SPARTA, B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

πανταχῇ εἰσι βασιλῆιοι καὶ καταλύσιες κάλλισται, διὰ
οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλέος. διὰ μὲν γε
Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἴκοσὶ εἰσι, πα-
5 ρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. ἐκ-
δέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ἐπ' ᾧ πύ-
λαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω
διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐ-
τῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πο-
10 ρευομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυὼν
δέοντές εἰσι τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ
ἐκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διξᾶς τε πύλας διεξ-
ελᾶς καὶ διξὰ φυλακτήρια παραμείψαι. ταῦτα δὲ
διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς

Description of the
ROAD
FROM
SARDIS TO
SUSA.

provinces of the Persian empire with the capital (Susa). σταθμοί are 'stations,' or guardhouses; καταλύσιες (καταγωγαί) are caravanserais, but the two were combined (ll. 18, 34).

2. διὰ οἰκεομένης. The road did not follow the shortest route, but took a course which had previously been traced by commerce. Another road, considerably shorter, from Susa to Ephesus, is described by Strabo (p. 663, from Artemidorus). The stages in the road as given by Herodotus are:

1. Sardis to the Halys .	94½ P.'s.
2. The Halys to Cilicia	104
3. Cilicia to Euphrates .	15½
4. Armenia	56½
5. Matisene	137
6. Cissia	42½
	450

The direct distance from Sardis to the Halys at a point near Ancyra is

89 Parasangs, which corresponds fairly to the 94½ given by Herodotus; for Cappadocia 104 P. are given, for Cilicia 15½, making the whole distance from the Halys to the Euphrates 119½ P., but the direct distance to the usual place of crossing the Euphrates at Melitene is not 100 P. The difference must be explained by some extension of the route to the north, an extension due to the (prehistoric) importance of the city of Pteria (i. 76). Kiepert considers that it ran northwards to Comana, in the valley of the Iris, where it united with the road from Sinope and Pteria; thence it passed the range of Antitaurus to Melitene.—The Cilicia of Herodotus extends much further to the north than the Cilicia of later times; it reached the upper course of the Halys, and thence to the Euphrates; see i. 72. In later times (Strabo, 527) the Euphrates divided Cappadocia and Armenia.

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70, 1.

εἰσι σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ.¹⁵
 οὗρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νη-
 σιπέρητος, τῷ οὐνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ
 σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσι καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγ-
 γαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ φυλακτῆριον
 ἐν αὐτοῖσι. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης [τῆς^a Ἀρμενίης] ἐσβάλλοντι²⁰
 ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν σταθμοὶ εἰσι τέσσερες† καὶ^b τριή-
 κοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκα-
 τόν.† ποταμοὶ δὲ νησιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης
 ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστί, πρῶτος
 μὲν Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δεύτερός τε καὶ τρίτος αὐτὸς^c²⁵
 ὀνομαζόμενος, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

^a ἐκ δὲ . . . τέσσερες quae legebantur infra l. 30 post τριηκοσίας huc revocavit St., qui et τῆς Ἀρμενίης secluserit.

^b καὶ τριήκοντα . . . καὶ ἑκατόν supplevit primus De la Barre. ^c Pro αὐτός conj. Ζάβατος J. C. Weissenborn aliiq: ὀνομαζόμενος Ζάβατος H. Bobrik.

17. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ, κ.τ.λ. This part of the road lay north of the Masian range between the Euphrates and the point where the two arms of the Tigris unite. The distance is fairly correct at 56½ P.

20. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐσβάλλοντι . . . τέσσερες. By transferring this sentence, which stands in the MSS. after τριηκοσίας (l. 30), and adding the words καὶ τριήκοντα . . . ἑκατόν to τέσσερες, Stein has removed the greatest difficulty in the description of the road—the enormous extension given to Armenia compared with the distance assigned to this part of the route (see Bunbury, *Geogr.* i. 253, and Sayce, *Herod.* xxvii.). That some part of the distance is omitted in the traditional text is clear from the fact that Herodotus gives the totals as 111 stathmi and 450 P.; whereas the items only amount to

81 stathmi and 313 P. The direct distance from the southern border of Armenia to Susa is 165 P.; which agrees well enough with the 179½ P. of Herodotus, when we remember that two mountain ranges had to be crossed: (1) the range on the Upper Tigris; (2) the chain between the Diala and the Choaspes.

21. ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν. Herodotus here gives the name Matiene to the stretch of country between Armenia and Cissia. The usual name for it, or the largest part of it, was Assyria. Xenophon calls it Media, *Anab.* ii. 4. 27, etc. Other Matieni are found on the right bank of the Halys, i. 72; others again on the sources of the Araxes, i. 202. 15. On the road, see Kiepert, ap. Stein, and Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 27 ff.

SPARTA. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ρέων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερος^a αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρ-
 μενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερος^b ἐκ Ματιηνῶν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος
 τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνομα ἔχει Γύνδης^c, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβέ
 30 κοτε ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύ-
 τῃς ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνοντι ἑνδεκα σταθμοί,
 παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἡμισὺ ἐστι
 ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἐόντα καὶ τοῦτον νηysiπέρητον·
 ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοί
 35 εἰσι ἑνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. καταγωγὰ μὲν νυν σταθμῶν
 τοσαῦται εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι. εἰ δὲ 53
 ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλῆϊή τοῖσι παρασάγ-
 γησι καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥς-
 περ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδιά ἐστι
 5 ἐς τὰ βασιλῆϊα τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ
 τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα
 καὶ τετρακοσίων. πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν στάδια ἐπ'

Distance
from Sardis
to Susa^a πρότερον St.^b ὕστερον Libb. corr. St.^c Γύνδην Krüg.

53. 5. τὰ Μεμνόνια. Memnon, the son of Eos, the ally of Priam, who was slain by Achilles, is mentioned twice in the *Odyssey*, iv. 188; xi. 522. His story was made the theme of an epic by Arctinus, and was also represented on the earliest works of art: the chest of Cypselus, and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae. In later historians he appears as a real hero, who brought the forces of the East to aid Priam (Diod. ii. 22). He was thought to have built Susa, which was no doubt in existence before the Persians acquired the territory from the Elamites. So Strabo, p. 728 and Pausanias iv. 31. 5, x. 31. 7, who gives an account of Memnon's

march westwards. Herodotus seems to have known nothing of the Memnonium in Egyptian Thebes, or of the vocal statue of Memnon. See Pauly, *Realencycl.* sub voc.

7. πεντήκοντα, κ.τ.λ. In iv. 101. 9 two hundred stades (25 miles) are allowed for a day's journey, and *infr.* next chapter, only three days are allowed for the 540 stades from Ephesus to Sardis. Hultsch, *Metrol.* p. 527, 2nd ed., remarks, in reference to this road, that Herodotus must have calculated the distance on a shorter stadium than that of 600 Attic feet = $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Roman mile; but this is not Kiepert's view, and indeed it rests on no other ground than the difference between

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

54 ἡμέρη ἐκάστη διεξιούσι ἀναισιμούνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἐνενήκοντα. οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἶπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὀρθῶς εἶρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσ-5 λογίσασθαι ταύτη. καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον ἄστυ καλεῖται) τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρ-10 δεις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ οὕ-10 τω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μηκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

55 Ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἦγε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας γενομένας τυράννων ᾧδε ἐλευθέρας.

Distance
from
Ephesus
to Sardis.

Arista-
goras visits
Athens.

the *direct* distance from Sardis to Susa and the distance given by Herodotus, a difference which obviously depends on the route taken by the road.

54. 5. ἐξ Ἐφέσου. Ephesus was the great starting-point for the interior of Asia. Thus, *infra* 100, the expedition leaves Miletus for Ephesus, when preparing to attack Sardis; cf. Strabo, p. 663 κοινὴ τις ὁδὸς τέτριπται ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὁδοιποροῦσι ἐξ Ἐφέσου.—The action of Cleomenes in rejecting the appeal of Aristagoras is condemned by Duncker (*Gesch. Alt.* vii. 39 f.), who considers that if strongly supported the Asiatic Greeks could have shaken themselves free from the Persians, in which case the Ionian fleet would have been in the service of Greece. The way over the Aegean would then

have been rendered difficult, if not impossible, and the Persians would have been compelled to renounce their recent conquests in Europe. But, on the other hand, it is not clear that the Ionian revolt was in any sense a national movement (cf. vi. 3), and Herodotus condemns it, as Hecataeus had done before him. Nor could the Spartans cross the Aegean in any force without more ships than they possessed, while, if they crossed in the ships of their allies, they would be dependent on them. And again, the absence of a large body of Spartans at a great distance might have led to grave complications at home.

55. 1. The story of the rise of Peisistratus is told by Herodotus in i. 59-64. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 13.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχὸν τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἰππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυ-
 5 ράννου ἀδελφεόν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου [τῷ^a ἐωυτοῦ πά-
 θεϊ] ἐναργεστάτην κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος,
 γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυ-
 ραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἕτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρ-
 5 χου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἡδε. ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Πανα-
 θηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν
 καὶ εὐεϊδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα.

ATHENS,
how freed
from
tyrants.

56

Dream of
Hippar-
chus.

5 τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ.
 οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

^a τῷ—πάθει del. Jacobs, Gomp., St., Ab., alii.

3. Ἰππίεω τοῦ τυράννου. Cf
 Thuc. i. 20 Ἀθηναίων τὸ πλῆθος
 Ἰππαρχὸν οἶοντα ὑφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ
 Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀπο-
 θανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἰππίας μὲν
 πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισι-
 στράτου υἱέων, Ἰππαρχὸς δὲ καὶ Θεσ-
 σαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ. The
 mistake was probably due to the
 famous scolion in which Harmodius
 and Aristogeiton were spoken of as
 tyrannicides; ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτα-
 νέτην, ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιη-
 σάτην (as a matter of fact they did
 neither!).

4. τῷ . . . πάθει. These words
 are generally taken with ἐναργεστά-
 την, but the construction is very
 doubtful. Stein and others would
 omit them. ἐναργής is 'clear,' 'un-
 mistakeable'; cf. Plato, *Crito* 44 B.

8. μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. Thuc. vi.
 59 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις χαλεπωτέρα μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἢ τυραννὶς κατέστη. Arist.
Athen. Pol. 19 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 συνέβαινε πολλῷ τραχυτέραν εἶναι

τὴν τυραννίδα. The 'tyranny of
 Hippias' was remembered; cf.
 Aristoph. *Wasps* 502; *Lysistr.* 618;
ibid. 1151 ff.; *infr.* c. 62. 5.

56. 2. τῶν Παναθηναίων. The
 great Panathenaea were celebrated
 every fourth year, during four days
 (25-28 Hecatombaeon). The great
 day of the festival was the fourth,
 on which the scarlet robe (peplus)
 of Athena was brought in pro-
 cession (πομπή) to the Acropolis;
 see Dict. Ant.

4. αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα,
 'spoke these riddling words.' Cf.
 Soph. *Aj.* 1158 μῶν ἡνιξάμην;
 As Stein remarks, the words are not
 less obscure after the fulfilment of
 the prediction than they were before
 it. It is difficult to see how they
 can be made to refer to Hipparchus;
 they may however refer to the
 Athenian people (λέων, λεώς), who
 are bidden to expect that vengeance
 will overtake the oppressor, or more
 especially to Harmodius—if he could

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

The Gephyraeans.

ταῦτα δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερός ἦν ὑπερ-
 τιθέμενος ὀνειροπόλοισι· μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν
 57 ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ. οἱ δὲ Γεφυ-
 ραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἰππάρχου, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ
 λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἑρετρίας τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ
 ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν
 Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων [Φοινίκων]^a ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην 5
 καλεομένην, οἵκεον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες
 τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ Καδμείων πρότε-
 ρον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι

^a secl. St., Van H.

be in any way said to be 'a lion.' Hipparchus would be conscious of his ἀδικία towards Harmodius.

8. ἀπειπάμενος, 'dismissing from his thoughts.'

9. ἔπεμπε, κ.τ.λ. Thucydides, in vi. 57, speaks of Hippias as more particularly engaged with the procession (Ἰππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμειῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει ὥς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προϊέναι), Hipparchus being in the city at the Leocorion, but in *ib.* i. 20 we are informed that Hipparchus also was arranging the procession (τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπήν διακοσμοῦντι.) The account of Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* c. 18. 3, speaks of Hippias as being in the Acropolis, ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ οὗτος μὲν δεχόμενος, ὁ δ' Ἰππαρχος ἀποστέλλων τὴν πομπήν.

57. 4. Φοίνικες. Whether the Gephyraeans were Phoenicians or not, there is no reason why Phoenicians should not have settled at Thebes in Boeotia, and the evidence, such as it is, is in favour of such a

settlement. In any case Boeotia was inhabited by various tribes before the immigration of the Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly; Thuc. i. 12 Βοιωτοὶ τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν; *ib.* iii. 61 συμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες (when founding Plataea).

7. τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν, i. e. the extreme south of the country, on the Asopus. The Tanagraeans were called Gephyraeans (Strabo, p. 404), but probably this word means no more than 'bridge-makers,' pontifices, and such might be found at Eretria as well as Tanagra. See, however, Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 293 f., who thinks that the account of Herodotus rests on the connection of Phoenix (the tutor of Achilles) with Eleon, a town in the district of Tanagra. When Phoenix was read as 'Phoenician' and connected with Cadmus, the Tanagraeans became Phoenicians!

8. ὑπ' Ἀργείων, cf. *infr.* c. 61. δεύτερα, 'afterwards,' cf. *supr.* 41. 5.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθη-
 10 νέων. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων
 αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιήτας, πολλῶν^a τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγῆτων
 ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ 58
 ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἱ-
 κήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα οὐκ ἔόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι,
 5 ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται
 Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φω-
 νῇ μετέβαλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περιοί-

The Phoe-
 nicians
 brought
 letters into
 Greece.

^a οὐ πολλῶν Madv., Van H.: ὀλίγων Cob.

The invasion of the Epigoni was almost contemporaneous with the Trojan war (in the traditional chronology); the immigration of the Boeotians took place sixty years after it: Thuc. i. 12.

10. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι, 'on certain specified terms'; cf. Thuc. i. 13 ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι.

11. πολλῶν . . . ἀξιαπηγῆτων, 'a good many privileges, but not worth mentioning.' The expression is awkward, but a parallel is found in Pausanias, an imitator of Herodotus, παθόντες εὖ πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἀπηγῆσεως (i. 9. 3). Stein suggests that in this exclusion may be found the reason why the sister of Harmodius was not allowed to take part in the Panathenaic procession, Thuc. v. 56. No doubt the privileges from which the Gephyraeans were excluded were of a religious or ceremonial nature.

58. 3. ταύτην τὴν χώραν, sc. Boeotia.

διδασκάλια, 'lessons' = μαθήματα, but this sense seems to be unique.

4. γράμματα. That the Greeks received their alphabet from the Phoenicians admits of no doubt; the form, the order, and the names of the letters prove this. But they altered the alphabet which they received, especially in regard to the vowels and sibilants, developing the first and cutting down the others. They also added letters, such as ν, φ, χ, ψ, ω; and used Greek names or epithets for them, sigma, e-pilon, o-mega, etc. See on the subject, Franz, *Element. Epigr.* 111, and Roberts, *Epigraphy* p. 4. That they received them from the Phoenicians in Boeotia, as Herodotus asserts, cannot be proved; the oldest inscriptions are those of Thera and Crete (Dorian islands) and the Ionian inscriptions found in Egypt.

7. τὸν ῥυθμόν, 'the form,' or 'sweep.' Schweigh. quotes Alexis, the comedian (*Frag.* 59, Koch), who speaks of a drinking cup as ἀστειοτάτῳ τὴν ὄψιν, οὔτε τρυβλίου οὔτε φιάλης, μετείχε δ' ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ῥυθμοῖν. In this sense the word is also used by Democritus, a con-

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

κεον δέ σφεας τὰ πολλὰ [τῶν^a χώρων] τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
 Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν
 Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμίσαντές σφεων ὀλί- 10
 γα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δί-
 καιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 Φοινικῆια κεκληῖσθαι. καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας κα-
 λέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι
 βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγέησί τε καὶ οἰέησι. ἔτι 15
 δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας
 59 διφθέρας γράφουσι. εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήια γράμ-
 ματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θή-
 βησι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίποσί τισι^b ἐγκεκολαμμένα,
 τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἔόντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὲ εἰς τῶν
 τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει

Inscrip-
tions at
Thebes.^a τῶν χώρων del. Krüger., secl. St.: χωρίων Wess.^b τρισί Dobree, Van H.

temporary of Herodotus: διαφέρειν γάρ φασι τὸ ὄν ρυσμῶ καὶ διαθιγῇ καὶ τροπῇ μόνον. τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν ρυσμὸς σχῆμά ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ διαθιγὴ τάξις, ἡ δὲ τροπὴ θέσις, Aristotle, *Met.* i. 4. 985 b 4. Herodotus does not refer to the *direction* of the writing. So below μεταρρυθμίσαντες = 'changing the shape.'—Herodotus is of opinion that the Ionians used letters before the Dorians (see, however, *supr.* 1. 4) and accounts for the fact by pointing out that the Ionians lay nearest the Phoenician immigrants in Boeotia. He would consider the inhabitants of Attica Ionians, and perhaps those of Euboea.

11. ἐφάτισαν... κεκληῖσθαι, 'gave them the name,' lit. 'pronounced that they have the name.'

13. The word Φοινικῆια is used as a substantive for 'letters,' e. g., in the Teian inscriptions quoted by Roberts, *l. c.* p. 170, φοινικῆια ἐκκόπτειν is = 'to erase letters.' τὰς βύβλους, 'sheets of byblus,' i. e. sheets of the papyrus. Herodotus believes that the Greeks used skins for writing upon before the introduction of papyrus from Egypt, for which cf. ii. 92. 19 f., 100, Xen. *Anab.* vii. 5. 14, and the article *Papyrus* in Pauly's *Realencycl.*

59. 4. τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. For the Ionic letters in general, see Roberts, *Epigraphy*, p. 386. We may perhaps take the letters of the inscription of Halicarnassus, 453 B. C., given by Roberts, *l. c.*, p. 175, as a specimen of the Ionic letters best known to Herodotus.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἔων^a ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων.
ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Λάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ
Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου. ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ 60
τόνῳ λέγει

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν^b περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

5 Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἶη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γε ἐστὶ
ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶντ' οὕνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπ-
ποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαΐου. τρίτος 61
δὲ τρίπους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ^c

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸς^d ἐυσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

5 ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέος μου-

^a ἔων: λαβών Bekk., λεώ Valla, νέων Bentley, ἐλών Meineke, θεῶ St., alia alii.

^b τεῖν = τῇδε Van H. (et mox 61. 4), Bergk, *Rh. Mus.* 1883, p. 539.

^c ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ? St., Van H.

^d αὐτός Schwgh.: αὐτόν Libb.: an αὐτόθ'? St.

6. ἔων ἀπό. The reading, and therefore the interpretation, is doubtful; ἔων can hardly be right. Stein suggests ἀνέθηκε θεῶ, in which case ἀπό is 'out of'; other suggestions are ἰών, νέων, ἐλών. The Teleboae were a tribe living in Acarnania, which invaded Mycenae in the reign of Electryon, Alcmenē's father and uncle of Amphitryon. Before Alcmenē would marry Amphitryon, who had to fly to Thebes owing to the involuntary murder of Electryon, she demanded that he should take vengeance on the Teleboae.

60. 2. τόνῳ, 'rhythm.' So in i. 174. 22 ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ of an iambic.

4. τεῖν, Doric for σοι.

5. Hippocoon was the half brother of Tyndareus; his race, therefore,

belonged to the Peloponnesus, not to Thebes.

7. κατὰ Οἰδίπουν. The chronology is, of course, fixed by genealogies. Amphitryon and Laius are contemporaries, and therefore their sons Heracles and Oedipus are contemporaries. The same holds good with regard to Tyndareus and Hippocoon, and of their sons, who are also contemporary with the Thebans. Thus Heracles and the Dioscuri are contemporaries, and so too are Scaeus and Oedipus. Nevertheless the Theban genealogy is a little in advance of the others, for Heracles is to be put before the Trojan war, while Helen, the sister of the Dioscuri, is contemporary with it. See Append. 4.

ATHENS. B.C. 514; Ol. 66. 3.

ναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τράπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγχελέας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφί ἰρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν¹⁰ ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.

62 Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηταί μοι· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἦια λέξων λόγον, ὥς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἰππίεω τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμ-⁵ πικραινομένου Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πει-

The
ALCMAEONIDAE
attempt to
depose
Hippias.

61. 6. At the close of his life, owing to domestic troubles, Cadmus with his wife Harmonia left Thebes and wandered into Illyria, where he became the ruler of the tribe of Encheleis, Strabo, p. 326 ἐν τοῖς Ἑγχελίοις οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας ἀπόγονοι ἦρχον, καὶ τὰ μυθενόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ δείκνυται. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὑπὸ ἰθαγενῶν ἦρχοντο. When the Cadmeians were driven from Thebes, they also went northwards to Illyria, expelling on their way the Dorians from Hestiaeotis, i. 56; Paus. ix. 5. 13; Apollod. iii. 7. 3.

8. ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν, with ἀναχωρέουσι.

11. Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος. Cf. Aristophanes *Ach.* 709 οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιὰν ῥαδίως ἠνέσχετο. The epithet was popularly derived from the woe, ἄχος, which Demeter suffered by the loss of her daughter, but the scholiast on the passage gives another

explanation. The worship of the goddess under this title was known in Boeotia, Plutarch, *De Isid.* 69; the existence of it at Thespieae is proved by an inscription, and the passage quoted from Aristophanes shows that it was domiciled in Athens; see Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 296. ὄργια implies secret worship. Cf. Aristoph. *Ranae* 384 Δήμητερ, ἄγνων ὀργίων ἀνασσα, συμπαραστάτει. Plutarch, *l. c.*, compares the worship of Demeter Achaëa and Demeter Thesmophoros, Ἀθήνησιν ησστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις χαμαὶ καθήμεναι. Καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρον κινουῖσιν, ἐπαχθῇ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζοντες, ὥς διὰ τὴν τῆς κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὔσης.

62. 7. Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι. In the opinion of Herodotus the Alcmaeonidae were a

ATHENS. B.C. 514-510; Ol. 66. 3, 67.

σιστρατίδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἀθηναίων
φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρεε [κά-
10 τοδος]^a, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μέγας πειρώμενοι κατιέναι
τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ
Παιονίης^b τειχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πᾶν Leipsy-
ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι παρ' Ἀμφικτυό-
drium.

^a κάτοδος del. Krüg.: ἡ κάτοδος Schäf.^b Πάρνηθος Wess. post Kusterum.

family of native Athenian origin, i. e. neither Ionian (see *infr.* c. 69), nor Pylian, like the Peisistratidae, and Medontidae. Later writers, however, represent them as derived from Pylus. See Appendix 5.

7. φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας. See vi. 123 f.; i. 59 ff., 64 καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηναίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης. If we allow ten years for the third despotism of Peisistratus (see Arist. *Athen. Pol.* p. 39 with Kenyon's note), the Alcmaeonids had now been in exile about twenty-five years.

11. Λειψύδριον. The precise position of the stronghold is not known, but it lay on the slopes of Parnes, not far from Decelea. See Smith's *Dict. Geogr. Attica*, 26. Aristotle *Athen. Pol.* c. 19 has Λ. τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος—which Kuster and Wesseling read in the text. The defeat of the Alcmaeonids was commemorated by a popular scion or drinking song:

Αἰαῖ, Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,
οἴους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθοὺς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἳ τότε ἔδειξαν οἶων
πατέρων ἔσαν.

See Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 665 and Schol., Aristotle, *l. c.*

13. παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων. The Amphictyonic council was charged with the care of the temple at Delphi. When the temple was burnt in 548 B.C. the rebuilding of it was made a national matter, subscriptions being collected from all parts of Greece, and even from Amasis of Egypt; ii. 180 Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἑόντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἑὼν αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκάη· τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐδωτίναζον. Amasis gave them 1000 talents of alum; the Greeks in Egypt twenty minae. There seems to have been great delay in the rebuilding of the temple. The Alcmaeonids were exiled from Athens in 537 B.C. but if Herodotus is right in putting the contract after the attempt at Leipsydrium, the rebuilding began after 514 B.C. unless the Alcmaeonidae merely finished what others had begun. Aristotle, *l. c.*, puts the events in the same order. Cf. Philochorus, in Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 9, who asserts that the Alcmaeonidae did not complete the

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

Their influence at Delphi.

The Spartans support them: Anchimolius sent to Athens.

νων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν
 ἔοντα τότε δὲ οὕκω, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομῆσαι. οἷα δὲ χρη-¹⁵
 μάτων εὖ ἤκοντες καὶ ἔοντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν
 ἔτι, τὸν τε^a νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλ-
 λιον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου^b σφι πωρίνου λίθου
 ποιέειν τὸν νηόν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίη-
 63 σαν. ὥς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι^c λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες
 ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι,
 ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε
 δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευ-
 θεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι αἰεὶ τώντ' ἐπρόφαν-⁵
 τον ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἔοντα
 τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πει-

^a τε om. Krüg.

^b συγκείμενον Krüg., Cob.

^c Ἀθηναῖοι: Λακεδαιμόνιοι conj. Schwgh.

temple till they had been restored to Athens.

16. δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι. Cf. vi. 125 f. ἔτι as in ἔτι πρότερον, ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι.

17. τὸν τε νηόν. Krüger omits τε which certainly is not wanted, for it leads us to suspect that the Alcmaeonidae did more than rebuild the temple in this handsome manner. Stein, who retains τε, would replace τὰ τε ἄλλα with καὶ δὴ, and contrast the use of finer material with the adoption of a more handsome plan than that given out.

παράδειγμα refers to some sketch or model given out with the contract.

18. συγκειμένου, 'when it had been agreed upon,' in the terms of the contract. Krüger and Cobet read συγκείμενον as in the common εἰρημένον.

πωρίνου λίθου = 'tufa-stone.'

19. Παρίου, sc. λίθου. The temple at Olympia was built of tufa, which is a kind of limestone lighter and less close in grain than marble.

ἐξεποίησαν, 'finished,' 'completed.' The reputation of the Alcmaeonidae for this act was widely spread; Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 7 πᾶσαισι γὰρ πολίεσι λόγος ὀμιλεῖ Ἐρεχθέος ἀστῶν, Ἀπολλων, οἳ τεόν γε δόμον Πυθῶνι δία θαητὸν ἔτευξαν.

63. 1. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. So in vi. 137 we have an Athenian account of the expulsion of the Pelasgi from Athens; and in viii. 94 of the behaviour of the Corinthians at Salamis. The remarkable feature in this passage is that the 'Athenian account' imputes a discreditable action to the great Athenian family. Hence Schweighäuser proposed οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

4. χρησόμενοι, sc. τῷ θεῷ.

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

σιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁμῶς καὶ ξεινίους^a σφι ἐόντας
τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ
10 τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν
πλοίοισι. ὁ μὲν δὴ προσσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατιὴν
ἀπέβησε, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα
ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποίητο γάρ
σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφι δεομέ-
15 νοισι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵπ-

^a ξείνους Schäf.

8. ξεινίους. If the reading is sound, the adjective is here used for the substantive; but cf. *infr.* 91.14 ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα. Schäfer was probably right in reading ξείνους.

9. τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. ix. 7. 3 περὶ πλείστου δ' ἡγόν (οἱ Λ.) τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν. It was sometimes thought that these religious scruples were more politic than real, but here and in the delay in sending troops to Marathon (vi. 106. 11) they seem genuine. Plutarch, *De mal. Herod.* 23 denies that the priestess was bribed to give these oracles (καλλίστῳ μὲν ἔργῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ προσάπτων ἀσεβήματος διαβολήν, κ.τ.λ.), but the subsequent action of Cleomenes depends on this hypothesis. In Aristotle's *Athen. Pol.* c. 19, the bribery is not specifically mentioned, though the Alcmaeonidae are said to have won the oracle by their liberality: ἡ δὲ Πυθία προέφερεν (see text l. 4) αἰεὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστηριαζομένοις ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, κ.τ.λ. He adds that the Spartans were influenced by the friendship existing between the Peisistratids and Argos: cf. *infr.* 94.

7; and i. 61. 21.

11. Φάληρον. Phalerum was at this time the port of Athens.

14. Θεσσαλοί. The alliance was no doubt made in the lifetime of Peisistratus, who called one of his sons Thessalus. In his exile he visited the north of Greece, and acquired property in Thrace: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνώκισε περὶ τὸν Θέρμαιον κόλπον χωρίον, ὃ καλεῖται 'Ραίκηλος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, κ.τ.λ., *Arist. Athen. Pol.* c. 15.

15. κοινῇ γνώμῃ . . . τὸν βασιλέα. The Thessalians, i. e. the leading families, such as the Aleuadae and Scopadae, acted in common on this occasion, and apparently sent a general-in-chief to command the army. The title 'King of the Thessalians' is given by Thucydides, i. 111, to Orestes, the son of Echeocratidas of Pharsalus, and in Herodotus (vii. 6. 8) the Aleuadae are so called. But in ix. 1 the title is modified to 'leaders of Thessaly,' and in Thucydides ii. 22 we read that the Thessalian allies of the Athenians came from various cities in Thessaly: Larisa, Pharsalus,

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

πον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον^a · τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐμηχανῶντο^b τοιάδε. κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους²⁰ τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον· τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατεῖρξαν^c. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὕτω ἀπήλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.²⁵

64 μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδew, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἥπειρον· τοῖσι ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵπ-⁵πος πρώτη προσέμιξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφρων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγενομένοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας.

Second
invasion
under
Cleomenes.

^a Κυντιναῖον ? St.: Γονναῖον, Wachsmuth, Ab.

^b ἐμηχανέοντο Lhardy: ἐμηχανέατο Libb. vid. Gaisf. ad loc. ^c κατήραξαν Wess.

Cranon, Pyrasus(?), Gyrton, Pherae: ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες. In Thuc. iv. 78 we are told that the Thessalians were governed by a *δυναστεία*, i.e. a rule of families, rather than *ισονομία*. The conclusion seems to be that there was no constitutional king of Thessaly, though a *ταγός* or *βασιλεύς* might be elected when required to lead the army. In the various cities the great families ruled in the extreme form of oligarchy

known as *δυναστεία*. *χιλίην τε ἵππον*. So Aristotle *l. c.* 19 Κινέαν ἔχοντα χιλίους ἱππεῖς.

16. Κονιαῖον is wrong; there was no Thessalian town Conium, and Cineas was certainly a Thessalian.

24. ταφαί, 'grave.' The Cynosarges was a temple of Heracles and a gymnasium outside the eastern wall of Athens, between Mt. Lycabettus and the Ilissus. The gymnasium is famous in connection with Themistocles, who as a *νόθος* or half-breed, could exercise there only: see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* i. 313 ^b; *History of Greece*, ii. 106.

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων
 10 τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς
 τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. καὶ οὐ- 65
 δέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λα-
 κεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἱ
 τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδα-
 5 το· πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο
 ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχίῃ τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπε-
 γένητο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι
 γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων ἤλω-

Expulsion
 of the Pei-
 sistratidae
 from
 Athens.

64. 9. ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ . . .
 ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. Cf. *Athen. Pol.* c. 19 Κλεομένην ἐξέπεμψαν (the Spartans) τὸν βασιλέα στόλον ἔχοντα μείζω κατὰ γῆν, ὃς ἐπεὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσσάλων ἱππεῖς ἐνίκησεν κωλύοντας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν παριέναι, κατακλείσας τὸν Ἰππίαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος, κ.τ.λ. We also hear of τὸ Πελασγικόν, *Thuc.* ii. 17 τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατον ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν. Cf. *infr.* vi. 137. 6 ff., where we have (1) a piece of land under Hymettus cultivated by the Pelasgians; (2) a wall built by them round the acropolis. The precise meaning of the terms is very obscure, but there seems no reason to doubt that the Pelasgic fortress was some part of the acropolis, for in Aristotle, *l. c.*, Hippias is shut up into the Pelasgic fortress but surrenders the acropolis. The 'Pelasgic ground' which is mentioned by Thucydides is certainly to be distinguished from the fortress, which was destroyed in the Persian invasion and never rebuilt, and from the ground under Hymettus, which lay outside the

walls. Curtius in his recent work on the *History of the city of Athens*, pp. 47, 61, explains the 'fortress' as a wall running round the base of the acropolis (see Herod. vi. 137. 7) and the ground as the space between the wall and the rock. It is worth observing that neither Herodotus nor Aristotle speak of any walls of the city; the acropolis only is fortified, or at any rate garrisoned.

65. 3. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην, κ.τ.λ. They had no intention of blockading the fortress, and after a few days' siege they would have retired, &c. Cf. *Arist. Athen. Pol.* c. 19 προσκαθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεσεν ὑπεξιόντας ἀλῶναι τοὺς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν υἱεῖς· ὧν ληφθέντων ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων σωτηρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐκκομισάμενοι παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Ἀρπακτίδου ἄρχοντος. For the children, cf. *Thuc.* vi. 55, where we are told that Hippias alone had any legitimate children; he had five by his wife Myrrhinè (*Βυρσίνης τῆς Ἰππίου*, *Aristoph. Knights*, 449).

ATHENS. B.C. 510; Ol. 67. 3.

The Peisistratids a
Pylian
family.

σαν. τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοι-¹⁰σι, ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν¹⁵ γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἐόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλέες. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῶντῶ^a οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἰπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιούμενος τὴν ἐπωνυ-²⁰μίην.

^a τῶντῶ: τό maluit St.

13. Σίγειον. Cf. *infr.* c. 94; Thuc. vi. 59 ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἔς τε Σίγειον καὶ παρ' Αἰαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. Hippias was subsequently brought to Sparta, *infr.* 91. 8, but he returned to Sigeum (94. 4). We hear of him afterwards at Marathon, vi. 102 f.

14 ff. ἐπ' ἕτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. Arist. *Pol.* v. 12 = 1315 b. 31 gives one year less: δις γὰρ ἐφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν· ὥστ' ἐν ἕτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τούτων ἐτυράννευσεν· ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Herodotus reckons the tyranny of Hippias at four years (c. 55. 77), whereas it really extended over three years and something more (Thuc. vi. 59). Aristotle again (*Athen. Pol.* c. 17) puts the tyranny of Peisistratus at nineteen years, and that of his sons at 'nearly seventeen' (c. 19); but such slight discrepancies are of little

importance. In Thucydides, *l. c.*, we are told that the battle of Marathon took place in the twentieth year after the expulsion of Hippias. Assuming that Hipparchus was murdered at the Panathenaea of August, 514 B.C., three years and a half bring us to the beginning of 510 B.C. for the expulsion of Hippias, which agrees fairly with the statement of Thucydides. ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Pausanias ii. 18. 9 οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι, πλὴν Πεισιστράτου, τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὐστίνας ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί.

19. Ἰπποκράτης. Cf. i. 59. 4. 'Owing to this fact, Hippocrates gave his son the same name in remembrance, viz. Peisistratus, so calling him after the son of Nestor.' ἀπεμνημόνευσε θέσθαι, 'gave in remembrance' is said by Krüger to be 'unusual': lit. the words mean 'called to mind so as to give.'

ATHENS. B.C. 510 ff.; Ol. 67. 3.

Οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιοχρεα ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀριστα-
 25 γόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρήσαι σφέων βοηθείην, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

Ἀθῆναι, ἐοῦσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖ- 66
 σαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄν- CLEIS-
 δρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, THENES
 ὅς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσα- and
 5 γόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ISAGORAS
 ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐ- at Athens.
 τοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυ-

66. 1. καὶ πρὶν. In the time of Peisistratus and his sons, Athens was connected with Thrace, Thesaly and Macedonia (*infr.* 94); the tyrants were on good terms with Sparta and Argos; and with Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos, who formed a link between them and Polycrates of Samos (i. 64. 8). The magnificence of Athens as a city also dates from their time.

3. ἐδυνάστευον. The same word is used of Miltiades, the son of Cypselus (vi. 35. 3). Cf. vi. 66. 7; ix. 2 *ult.* Thucydides, speaking of Thebes in 480 B.C., says—through the mouth of a Theban—ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὴν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ. (iii. 62).

5. Τισάνδρου. This Tisander is of course quite distinct from the

Tisander of vi. 128. 12, who traced his descent from Ajax. The gens of Isagoras worshipped the Carian Zeus, which was an indication of Carian origin. (For the Carians in Greece, see *Hist. Greece*, i. 32.) Plutarch, *De mal. Her.* c. 23, is very severe on this suggestion, which he compares with the attempt to trace Harmodius and Aristogeiton to a Phoenician origin: εὐρυθμός γε καὶ πολιτικός ὁ μυκτὴρ τοῦ συγγαφέως, εἰς Κάρας, ὥσπερ εἰς κόρακας, ἀποδιαπομπουμένου τὸν Ἰσαγόραν. Ἀριστογείτονα μέντοι οὐκέτι κύκλω, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυσ, διὰ πυλῶν εἰς Φοινίκην ἐξελαύνει.

7. ἐστασίασαν. The removal of the tyrants allowed the old factious spirit to reappear, but in a different form. At the head of the anti-Peisistratid movement stood Cleisthenes and the Alcmaeonidae (cf. Aristotle *Athen. Pol.* c. 20, who also mentions a certain Kedon as attacking the tyrants before the Alcmaeonids).

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

νάμιος, ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσ-
εταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δε-
καφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ 10
Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς
ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρὼν δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας
ἐπιχωρίων, παρέξ Αἴαντος· τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα
καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἐόντα, προσέθετο.

67 Ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμιμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης
οὗτος τὸν ἐαυτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθέnea τὸν Σικυῶ-
νος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας

CLEIS-
THENES of
SICYON;

The party of Isagoras was the old oligarchical party, once led by Lycurgus (i. 59), but with an inclination towards tyranny, which the old party did not possess (Arist. *l. c.* describes him as a 'friend of the tyrants,' and he was prepared to be tyrant himself, *infra*. 74). Isagoras trusted to his oligarchical supporters; Cleisthenes, whatever his original aims, whether oligarchical or tyrannical, now made the people his 'club' (Cf. 71. 3, and *Athen. Pol.* 1. c. *ἡττημένος δὲ ταῖς ἐταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον*). Isagoras, who was elected archon in 508 B.C., retorted by calling in Cleomenes, but the popular feeling was too strong for him.

9. τετραφύλους, κ.τ.λ. For the four tribes, see Appendix 6.

12. ἐξευρὼν δέ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 21 *ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνυμίας ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν οὓς ἀνείλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα*. The ten were Erechtheus, Aegeus, Pandion, Leos, Acamas, Oeneus, Cecrops, Hippothoon, Ajax, Antiochus: see Demosth. *Epitaph.* 27-31 for an

account of these heroes.

67. 2. τὸν μητροπάτορα. Cf. vi. 135. 5. τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Cleisthenes was the last of the Orthagoridae, of whom Aristotle says, *Pol.* v. 12=1315 *b.* 12 *πλείστον χρόνον ἐγένετο ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν*. The reason of this long continuance was to be found in the mildness of the tyranny, the regard shown to the laws, and the military genius of Cleisthenes, who also paid great court to the people. The date of Cleisthenes is somewhat uncertain, but his reign of thirty-one years probably came at the beginning of the sixth century.

3. Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας. We unfortunately know nothing of this war; we can only conjecture that Argos in some way endeavoured to assert her ancient supremacy, and that Cleisthenes was strong enough to resist. In legend Sicyon was made a vassal kingdom of the Pelopid kings of Argos, and it was also conquered by the Dorian in-

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

τοῦτο μὲν ῥα ψωδοῦς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι his attempt
 5 τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἀργος to expel
 τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται· τοῦτο δέ, ἡρώιον γὰρ ἦν Adrastus.
 καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου
 τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἔόντα
 Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς
 10 ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυ-
 θίη οἱ χρᾶ φᾶσα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βα-
 σιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε
 οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ
 αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσθαι
 15 ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν

vaders of the Peloponnesus. See *Hist. Greece*, i. 102.

5. τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα. Argos would take a more prominent place in the Theban epics (*Thebais* and *Erigoni*) than in the Trojan, but it is doubtful whether they are meant here, for Herod. iv. 32. 6 declares against the Homeric origin of the *Erigoni*. The constant mention of the Greeks as Argives in Homer, and the position of Agamemnon, who was said to have reduced Sicyon to dependence on Argos, are reasons enough why Cleisthenes should dislike 'Homer.'

7. Adrastus began the connection between Argos and Sicyon. When expelled from Argos by Amphiaraus, he went to Sicyon, where he married the daughter of Polybus (his grandfather), and inherited his kingdom. At a later time he returned to Argos; cf. Paus. ii. 6. 6; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ix. 30.

12. λευστήρα is explained by

Hesychius as a 'man who slays by stoning,' and in Suidas as 'one worthy of stoning.' The active sense agrees better with the form of the word.—With this change of one hero for another we may compare the substitution of Brasidas for Hagnon at Amphipolis, Thuc. v. 11 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται, περιέρχαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἡρώϊ τε ἐντέμνονσι καὶ τιμᾷ δεδώκασι ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίονι θυσίαι, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν, καταβαλόντες τὰ Ἀγνώρεα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἰ τι μνημόσυνόν ποτε ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσσεως περιέσεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. As the Prytaneum was the town hall, the *temenos* (l. 17) in this case can mean little more than the space immediately round the shrine. Schweigh. would construe 'altar.' Cf. *infra* 89. 17 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀλακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδειξαν τοῦτο τὸ εἶναι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται.

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
 ἔδοσαν. ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιπ-
 πον τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανηίῳ καί
 μιν ἰδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ
 τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπη- 20
 γήσασθαι) ὥς ἔχθιστον ἔοντα Ἀδρήστῳ, ὃς τὸν τε
 ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυ-
 δέα. ἐπεῖτε δέ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ
 ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ. οἱ
 δὲ Σικυῶνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν 25
 Ἀδρηστον. ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρη-
 στος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος, ἅπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τε-
 λευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ
 Σικυῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πά-
 θεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διό- 30
 νυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ
 χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυ-
 68 σίην Μελανίππῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστον οἱ ἐπε-
 ποίητο, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ

29. τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ, i.e. in the ex-
 pulsion from Argos by Amphiaraus,
 and in the two expeditions against
 Thebes.

30. τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι, κ.τ.λ.
 This is the first recorded instance
 of a tragic as opposed to a dithy-
 rambic chorus, but even here we
 find that Dionysus has already been
 set aside for the national hero.

32. ἀπέδωκε, 'gave them back.'
 The tyrants seem to have been
 peculiarly inclined to favour the
 worship of Dionysus. It is in the
 reign of Peisistratus that we first
 hear of dramatic representations at
 Athens, and Arion was a favourite at

the court of Periander. On the sever-
 ance of the chorus from Dionysus, cf.
 Zenob. *Proverb.* v. 40 ἐπειδὴ τῶν χορῶν
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν
 εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον
 Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπε-
 χείρουν, ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες
 ἔλεγον· οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, κ.τ.λ.

68. 2. This action of Cleisthenes
 was due to the fact that he belonged
 to the non-Dorian population of
 Sicyon, i.e. to the Aegialeis who
 originally possessed the southern
 shore of the Corinthian gulf; cf. vii.
 94. 1 Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν
 Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομέ-
 νην Ἀχαίην καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ

SICYON. Circa B.C. 590; Ol. 47. 3.

ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικυωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἔς
 ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἔνθα καὶ πλείστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σι-
 5 κυωνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὕος τε καὶ ὄνου^a τὰς ἐπωνυμίας με-
 τατιθεὶς αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωυτοῦ
 φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὐνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς
 ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἕτεροι δὲ Ὑᾱ-
 ται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεᾶται, ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. τούτοισι
 10 τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυῶνιοι καὶ
 ἐπὶ Κλεισθέneos ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ’
 ἕτεα ἐξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες
 μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμα-
 νάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρή-

His con-
 temptuous
 treatment
 of the
 Dorian
 tribes.

^a ὄνου καὶ χοίρου H. Sauppe.

Ξοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον,
 ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πε-
 λασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνος τοῦ
 Ξοῦθου Ἰῶνες.

5. καὶ ὄνου. Sauppe is perhaps
 right in inserting καὶ χοίρου after ὄνου.

6. αὐτὰ = μόνα. Only the termin-
 ation was changed; the words re-
 mained unmistakeable.

11. καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος, κ.τ.λ.
 Of the history of Sicyon in the two
 generations after Cleisthenes we know
 nothing, but it is clear that during
 this period the city cannot have been
 in any close connection with Sparta.
 The expression λόγον σφίσι δόντες
 implies some kind of reconciliation
 with the Dorians, perhaps from a
 desire to join the Spartan con-
 federacy, of which the Sicyonians
 became members before the time at
 which Cleomenes invaded Attica,
 i. e. in 508, or 507 B. C. Cf. *infr.*
 74. 4 ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου.

13. Δυμανάτας, elsewhere Dy-

manes. The nature and origin of
 the Dorian tribes are discussed at
 length by Lachmann, *Die Spartan-
 ische Staatsverfassung*, 183 f. He
 is of opinion that the Hylleis were
 the real Dorians; the Dymanes
 were the same as the Macednians
 (Herod. i. 56. 15; viii. 43. 7),
 while the Pamphyli first came
 into existence in the Peloponnesus.
 In support of this last view he
 points out that there were only four
 towns in Doris, and in the Tetra-
 polis (Attica), whereas in Asia there
 were six. An account of this work
 will be found in Thirlwall's *Hist.
 Greece*, vol. iv. app. 1 (Cab. Ed.).

14. τετάρτους δέ, κ.τ.λ. ‘And as
 a fourth they added to them the
 Aegialeis, to which they gave this
 name in honour, etc.’ The language
 would lead us to believe that this
 fourth tribe had not been called
 Aegialeis previously—though it had
 certainly been in existence (l. 8).

ATHENS. B.C. 509-508; Ol. 67. 4, 68. 1.

στου παιδὸς Αἰγιάλεος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενοι κεκλη- 15
σθαι Αἰγιάλεας.

REFORMS
of CLEIS-
THENES AT
ATHENS.

69 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιή-
κε· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἔων τοῦ Σικυωνίου
τούτου θυγατριδέος καὶ τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων,
δοκέειν ἐμοὶ καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι
αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κλει- 5
σθέnea ἐμιμήσατο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε^a πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖ-
ραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλάς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε
πλεῦνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσ-

^a πάντα s. Krüg., Gaisf.: πάντων, τότε Schäf.: an πάντων μεταδιδούς? St.

69. 2. Ἀθηναῖος . . . ὑπεριδὼν
Ἰωνας. For the ethnology of Attica,
cf. viii. 44. 10 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν
Πελασγῶν ἔχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα
καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομα-
ζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος
βασιλέος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκ-
δεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν
Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνος δὲ
τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχειω γενομένου
Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου
Ἰωνες. According to this the Pelas-
gians, Ionians, and Athenians are
the same; but in another passage
Herodotus distinguishes the Pelas-
gians from the Athenians; cf. i. 57.
8 f. with vi. 137. And he also dis-
tinguishes the Ionians, who came into
Attica from Peloponnesus, from the
Athenians who had always dwelt
in the same country (cf. i. 143 ff.
with vii. 161. 20). Some distinction
of this kind is meant here. (Cf. i. 143.
9 οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἐφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι
Ἰωνες κεκληθῆσθαι, κ.τ.λ. The same
contempt is expressed in Thuc. vi.

77, vii. 5 by Dorians.)

7. πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάν-
των. The words can hardly be con-
strued as they stand. Either τότε
and πάντων must change places
(Schäfer), or τότε must be omitted.
'Previously shut out from all pri-
vileges,' seems to be the meaning.
Krüger reads πρότερον ἀπωσμένον
τότε πάντα, 'which had previously re-
jected him,' the rest going with προσ-
εθήκατο. Stein suggests that ἀπωσ.
= 'rejected,' 'disregarded' (pass.)
and that μεταδιδούς has been lost after
πάντων. But he gives the rendering
which I have adopted, as an alter-
native. Schwgh., Lex. s.v. ἀπωθέω,
is in similar hesitation. μοῖραν,
'party,' = στάσιν.

8. τὰς φυλάς, κ.τ.λ. For the con-
stitution of Cleisthenes, see App. 7.

9. φύλαρχοι. The phylarchs were
the subordinate commanders of horse
at Athens: cf. *Athen. Pol.* c. 61
χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυλάρχους, ἓνα
τῆς φυλῆς, τὸν ἡγησόμενον (τῶν
ἰππέων) ὥσπερ οἱ ταξίαρχοι τῶν

ATHENS. B.C. 509-508; Ol. 67. 4, 68. 1.

10 σέρων ἐποίησε, δέκα^a δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένειμε^b ἐς
 τὰς φυλάς· ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῶ κατύ-
 περθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος 70
 ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾷται τάδε. ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένεα
 τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς
 Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτίη
 5 φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ
 πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα
 ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς
 Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων
 ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεω-
 10 νίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φό-
 νου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετείχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.
 οἱ δ' ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ᾧδε ὠνομάσθησαν. ἦν Κύλων 71

Isagoras
calls in
Cleomenes;
Cleisthenes
is expelled.

^a δέκα δέ del. Krüg., Madv.: καὶ δὴ Bake, Cob.

^b κατένειμε: St. κατένεμε.

ὄπλιτῶν. Herodotus here uses the word for the officers whose proper name was ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν φυλῶν. It must be remembered that Herodotus was not an Athenian, and that a word which was used in a special sense at Athens might be more widely used elsewhere.

10. δέκα δέ καί. Krüger and Madvig would expunge the words δέκα δέ. Cobet (and Bake before him) suggested καὶ δὴ for δέκα δέ. If the text is kept, we must suppose that there were 100 demes. As to the grammar, either δέκα is = κατὰ δέκα, 'by tens,' or ἐς τὰς φυλάς is = ἐς ἐκάστην τῶν φυλέων. For this last see Thuc. i. 18 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες που διασταῖεν, πρὸς τούτους (= ἐκατέρους τούτων) ἤδη ἐχώρουν. In the *Athen. Pol.* the number of demes is not mentioned

(c. 21 πρῶτον μὲν συνένειμε (?) πάντας εἰς δέκα φυλάς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων). In the 3rd cent. B.C. there were 174 demes. See Smith's *Dict. Geogr. Attica*.

70. 5. φοιτᾶν, κ.τ.λ. Plut. *De mal. Her.* 23 Ἰσαγόραν δὲ τῆς γαμετῆς ὑφίεσθαι Κλεομένει φοιτῶντι παρ' αὐτήν. This however is more than Herodotus says.

8. ἐπιλέγων, (1) adding in his description, or (2) 'choosing,' for the more usual middle, as in iii. 81. 14 τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην. The first is probably right. Krüger quotes i. 214. 18 λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε.

10, 11. τοῦ φόνου τούτου, i. e. the bloodshed which brought about the curse. αὐτός, sc. Isagoras.

71. 1. ἦν Κύλων, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix 8. The Olympian victory of Cylon, in the stadium, is placed

ATHENS. B.C. 509-508; Ol. 67. 4, 68. 1.

Story of
CYLON
and the
'Accursed.'

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταιρηίην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἰκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτους 5 ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων, οἳ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου φο-

by Africanus in 640 B.C. = Ol. 35. The date of his attempt on the city is uncertain; it probably came before the laws of Draco. [So at least we should conclude from the opening words of the *Constitution of Athens*, which refer to the ἄγος, if they did not confound earlier and later events: καταγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἄγους νεκροὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἔφυγεν ἀειφυγίαν. Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρής ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάθηρε τὴν πόλιν. According to Plutarch it was at the suggestion of Solon that the ἐναγείς submitted to judgment; and Epimenides is said to have visited Athens in 596 B.C. Hence the words quoted refer to events long subsequent to Draco, though followed in the treatise by an account of Draco's legislation. But it is clear that some years intervened between the ἄγος and the punishment of the guilty, for in the interim some had died.] As we know from Thuc. that the attempt took place in an Olympic year, we may perhaps take 632 B.C. as the date.

2. ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, 'set his cap at a tyranny' may give the sense. For the word cf. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1317 ἐπὶ τῷ κομᾶς καὶ κομφὸς εἶναι προσποιεῖ;

3. ἑταιρηίην. See c. 66, 7 note.

5. πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. The statue of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum; cf. *infr.* 72. 16. τούτους, κ.τ.λ. cf. Thuc. i. 121, Plutarch, *Sol.* 12, quoted in Appendix 8.

6. οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων. This is contradicted by Thucydides, who represents the nine archons as the persons engaged, and adds: τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον (i. 126). But as we are also told that the people flocked πανδημεί from the country to the siege, the prytanes of the naucreries (which were local divisions) may have been in charge as well as the archons. [As there was only one ναύκραρος to a ναυκραρία it is probable that ναυκράρων in the text is a mistake for ναυκραριῶν, unless we suppose that the prytanes here mentioned were a select few of the forty-eight naucrari. There were twelve naucreries in each tribe (of the four tribes), and the office was mainly concerned with finance: τεταγμένη πρὸς τε τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τὰς γινομένας διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς Σόλωνος . . . γέγραπται τοὺς ναυκράρους εἰσπράττειν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν ἐκ τοῦ ναυκραρικοῦ ἀργυρίου: Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 8. Others connect the office with the fleet: ναύκραροι οἱ τὰς ναῦς παρασκευάζοντες καὶ τριηραρχοῦντες καὶ τῷ

ATHENS, B.C. 508; Ol. 68. 1.

νεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίῃ ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ
 τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο. Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς
 πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλει-
 σθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε· μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν πα-
 ρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρί,
 5 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγηλατέει ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων,
 τά οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα
 τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι
 Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριζε. ἀντιστα-
 θείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε
 10 Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ
 καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ
 τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ
 δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν
 αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ
 15 φήμη· ὥς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐ-

72

Cleomenes
 at Athens;
 he is com-
 pelled to
 retire.

πολεμάρχῳ ὑποτεταγμένοι: Bekker, *Anecd.* 283. 20.]

72. 3. ὑπεξέσχε, 'retired.' Cleisthenes thought that his own retirement would satisfy the demands of Cleomenes, trusting to fortune and the antityrannical feeling for his return (ὑπεξελθόντος Κλεισθέους, Aristot.).

5. ἀγηλατέει, 'drives out as though polluted.' Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 100 ἀνδρηλατοῦντες ἢ φόνῳ φόνον πάλιν λύοντας. The word is preserved in the account given in the *Athen. Pol.*; see Appendix 7. ἐπίστια, 'homes,' families (οἰκίας). It is not likely that 700 families were concerned in the murder of the Cylonians, so that the object of the expulsion was plain.

7. τὴν βουλὴν. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 20 τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἐπειρᾶτο καταλύειν, Ἰσαγόραν δὲ καὶ τρια-

κοσίους τῶν φίλων μετ' αὐτοῦ κυρίους καθιστάναι τῆς πόλεως. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἀντιστάσης, κ.τ.λ. It was the old council of 400, for the new council of 500 had not yet been elected, that is, if Aristotle's account is chronologically exact. Notice that Cleomenes here attempts to establish an oligarchy with Isagoras at the head; later, he wishes to make Isagoras tyrant; c. 74. 6. The number 300 has probably no special significance, yet we observe that 300 was the number of the council convened to judge the 'Accursed' (Plut. *Sol.* 12).

13. ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, i.e. the Lacedaemonians made a truce to save themselves, regardless of their allies. For a similar case, cf. Thuc. iii. 109. Isagoras, however, contrived to escape.

ATHENS. B.C. 508; Ol. 68. 1.

τὴν κατασχέσειν, ἦι ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὥς προσ-
 ερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρεὶς ἐξαναστάσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ
 τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε,
 πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν
 Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ’²⁰
 οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ’ Ἀχαιός.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι
 οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε
 μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι
 κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησί-
 θεον τὸν Δελφόν^a, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος²⁵

73 ἔχοιμ’ ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξαι. οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι
 ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθέnea καὶ
 τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος
 μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις, συμμα-
 χίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἠπιστέατο⁵

Return of
 Cleis-
 thenes :
 embassy to
 Sardis.

^a Δελφόν Palmer : ἀδελφεόν, Libb.

16. τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ. Recent excavations show that there was a ‘Hecatompedon’ on the Acropolis before the Persian invasion. This seems to be meant here and viii. 53. In *supr.* 71. 5; *infr.* 77. 20; 82. 14; Herod. refers to the Erechtheum (cf. viii. 55. 3 f.). ὥς προσερέων. So Cleomenes sacrificed at the shrine of Hera in Argolis, vi. 82. 9, meeting with opposition there, as here.

17. ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. Her seat would be just within the door.

19. πάλιν χώρεε. This was the φήμη (omen) which was fulfilled by the repulse of Cleomenes; cf. *supr.* i. 14.

21. Ἀχαιός. He claimed to be a descendant of Heracles, who counted as an Achaeon of Argos.

24. τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, i.e. ‘im-

prisoned them for execution,’ *sub.* δέσιν; cf. i. 109. 2 κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Τιμησίθεον. Pausanias, vi. 8. 6, tells us that there was a statue of Timesitheus the Delphian at Olympia, the work of Ageladas (of Argos, teacher of Pheidias). He was victor in the pancratium twice at Olympia, and three times at the Pythia.

73. 4. This embassy to Persia is the first attempt to bring the power of the Great King into Greece, a policy of which the final result was the Peace of Antalcidas, in 387 B.C. The Athenians may have counted on the fact that Sparta had sent a message to Cyrus asserting the independence of the Greeks in Asia, which would tend to create an ill-feeling between Sparta and Persia.

ATHENS. B.C. 508; Ol. 68. 1.

γὰρ σφίσι ^a [πρὸς] Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπε-
πολεμῶσθαι. ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρ-
δεις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ
Ἰστιάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες εἶντες ἄν-
10 θρωποι καὶ κοῦ ^b γῆς οἰκημένοι δεοίατο Περσέων σύμ-
μαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκο-
ρύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλείᾳ Δαρείῳ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθε-
το, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε.
15 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι
ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὔτοι 74
μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον·
Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιυβρίσθαι ἔπεσι καὶ ἔρ-
γοισι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου
5 στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαί τε ἐθέ-
λων τὸν δῆμον τὸν ^c Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμε-
νος τύραννον καταστήσας· συνεξῆλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ
τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέ-

Cleomenes
organises
a new
attack on
Athens.

^a σφι Libb. : πρὸς del. Schweigh. ^b κοῦ St. : ποῖ Libb.

^c τὸν Ἀθηναίων St. : τὸν Ἀθηναῖον A B : τῶν Ἀθηναίων cett.

6. [πρὸς]. Pape, Lex., takes ἐκπε-πολεμῶσθαι as impersonal, in which case πρὸς may be retained. Schwgh. would remove it, taking Λ. τε καὶ Κλ. as the subject of the infinitive.

11. ἀπεκορύφου, 'answered in brief,' 'put the matter in a nutshell.'

15. ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, 'at their own risk': cf. *infra*. 106.
18 ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον. The phrase is common in Herodotus. It must be carefully distinguished from βάλλεσθαι ἐς θυμόν, ἐν φρεσίν = 'to ponder over.'

74. 3. ἐπιστάμενος, 'feeling,' 'thinking,' a meaning common in

Herodotus. Cleomenes had been allowed to retreat uninjured, but the Athenians had utterly disregarded his wishes by recalling Cleisthenes, and proceeding with the reforms.—This is the first occasion on which we find the Spartan king at the head of all Peloponnesus; and we may observe that he acts as a military despot, not even acquainting the army with his wishes. The Spartans were pledged to follow the king, vi. 56. 4; Cleomenes assumes and expects that the allies will do so also.

5. ἐς τό = ἐς ὅ τι.

ATHENS. B.C. 507; Ol. 68. 2.

βαλε ἐς Ἑλευσῖνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς δήμους τοὺς ἐσχά-¹⁰ τοὺς τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐσυστερον ἐμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ
 75 ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρώτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὥς οὐ ποίεοιεν δίκαια^a μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιη-⁵ τέων, καὶ συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος

The Corinthians abandon it: dissension between the Spartan Kings.

^a δίκαια St.: τὰ δίκαια Libb.

9. ἐς Ἑλευσῖνα. The allies must have been aware that the expedition was directed against Athens, but the object of it—the setting up of a tyrant—was concealed from them. οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος. This is the first instance of common action on the part of the Spartans and the Boeotians. The cause of the agreement is given in vi. 108, viz. the alliance of Athens and Plataea, which was due to the advice of Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians: οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι.

10. Oenoe commanded the road from Plataea and Thebes to Athens on the Athenian side of the ridge of Cithaeron. It was attacked, unsuccessfully, by Archidamus in his first invasion of Attica (Thuc. ii. 18).

Hysiae was also on the high road from Athens to Thebes, but on the northern slope of Cithaeron. Though mentioned here as in the limits of Attica it probably belonged to Plataea; it never became, like Oenoe, an Attic deme. Cf. ix. 15. 14; vi. 108. 32.

11. ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα, i.e. at the eastern extremity of the northern boundary of Attica, near Oropus.

13. ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, i.e. distracted between the attacks on their northern boundary and at Eleusis.

75. 2. συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην. The more usual constructions are συν. μάχην, or συν. without any accusative whatever.

8. ἐτέθη νόμος, κ.τ.λ. So, in the next century, we are told (Xen. Hell. v. 3. 10) that the Phliasians considered themselves safe from the attack of Agesilaus when Agesipolis

ATHENS. B.C. 507; Ol. 68. 2.

ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βα-
 10 σιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατιῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι εἶπον-
 το· παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλείπε-
 σθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ
 δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ κλητοῖ σφι ἑόντες εἶποντο.
 τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ὁρῶντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμ- 76
 μάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμο-
 λογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἴχον-
 το καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι, τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ
 5 τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριεῖς, δῖς τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ
 ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δῖς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθη-
 ναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκησαν (οὗτος
 ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς^a
 ἂν καλέοιτο), δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισι-

Dorian
invasions of
Attica.^a ὀρθῶς πρῶτος Naber, Ab.: γενόμενος πρῶτος Cob.

was absent from Sparta: οὐδ' ἂν
 γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς
 βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι. But,
infr. vi. 50. 9, Cleomenes is com-
 pelled to retire from Aegina because
 the second king is not with him
 (cf. vi. 65. 4; 73. 5), and in 418
 B.C. Pleistoanax and Agis are both
 absent from Sparta (Thuc. v. 75)
 though Pleistoanax returns immedi-
 ately on hearing the news of the
 victory at Mantinea.

9. ἔπεσθαι, i.e. 'go out with';
 the kings always went at the head
 of the army: cf. vi. 56.

11. παραλυομένου, i.e. 'released
 from command.'

12. τῶν Τυνδαριδέων, i.e. the Dios-
 curi. Hitherto it may have been the
 custom to take the images of these
 heroes out with the army: cf. the
 Aeacidae, *infr.* c. 80, and at the
 battle of Salamis (viii. 64, 83, 84).

See also Rob. Smith, *Religion of the
 Semites*, i. 38, who quotes 1 Sam. iv.
 7 ff.; 2 Sam. v. 21. Either the custom
 was now discontinued, the heroes
 being merely invoked, or new images
 of the heroes were made, for the
 ordinary images did not admit of
 separation; Plutarch, *De frat. am.*
 1 τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύ-
 ματα οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται δόκανα καλοῦσι·
 ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα δυσὶ
 πλαγίοις ἐπεξευγμένα, κ.τ.λ.

13. ἐπὶ κλητοί, 'as auxiliary deities,'
 σωτῆρες ἐσθλοὶ καὶ γαθοὶ παραστάται,
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν
 τούτων: Aelian, *V. H.* i. 30 (Krüger).
 Cf. Pausanias' story of the Dioscuri
 in the Messenian war; iv. 16. 5, 9;
 27. 3.

76: 7. οὗτος ὁ στόλος, κ.τ.λ. 'This
 expedition might properly be called
 (the expedition which took place)
 when Codrus was king of the Athe-

ATHENS. B.C. 507; Ol. 68. 2.

στρατιδέων ἐξέλασιν ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο,¹⁰
 τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πε-
 λοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε· οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριέες ἐσέ-
 βαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

77

The
 Athenians
 at Chalcis,
 and in
 Boeotia.

Διαλυθέντος ὧν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦ-
 τα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι πρῶτα στρατηίην ποι-
 εῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοη-
 θεύουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρύππον. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς^a Βοιω-
 τοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι⁵
 ἐπιχειρεῖν. συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι καὶ πολλῶ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύ-
 σαντες ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς
 ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν
 συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ¹⁰
 τούτους τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβο-

^a τοὺς βοηθοὺς r (sv), Gaisf., Krüg., Van. H.

nians.' Cobet proposed to insert *γενόμενος πρῶτος* after Ἀθηναίων, which would give a different sense. Krüger translates: 'might properly be put in the reign of,' but the precise meaning seems to be, 'might properly be called the Codrus-expedition' (Stein). Cf. Van Herwerden, *Mnemosyne* xiii. 22. In the oldest period Megara was Ionian, and a part of Attica; in the days of Codrus the Dorians invaded it, and though Codrus by his heroic death saved Attica, Megara was lost: see Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Megara. The passage in the text appears to have been written before 446 B. C., when Pleistoanax invaded Attica.

13. ἐς Ἀθήνας = ἐς Ἀττικὴν. A certain number of Athenians seem to have been with Cleomenes at

Eleusis: Schol. ad Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 273: τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κλεομένους Ἐλευσῖνα κατασχόντων Ἀθηναίων τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευσαν, αὐτῶν δὲ θάνατον ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἀναγράψαντες ἐς στήλην χαλκῇ ἔστησαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νέων.

77. 11. κληρούχους, i.e. Athenians who received grants of land out of the conquered territory. There is reason to suppose that Salamis had already been so occupied by the Athenians. The κληρουχία was quite distinct from the ἀποικία, and approached much nearer to the Roman system of colonisation. It was greatly developed at a later time by Pericles, see *Hist. Greece*, ii. 386 f., and naturally found favour with the lower classes at Athens.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

τέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι· οἱ δὲ ἵπποβόται ἐκαλέοντο οἱ
παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων. ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγρη-
σαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζώγρημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλα-
15 κῇ [ἐς πέδας]^a δῆσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσάν σφεας δί-
μνεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι
ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ
ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περι-
πεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ
20 μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. καὶ τῶν λύ-
τρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον
χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι
ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι· ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ
οἱ τάδε.

^a ἐς πέδας secl. St.: ἐν πέδασι A² (sv), Schäf.

Arist. *Nub.* 204 MA. γῆν ἀναμετρεῖ-
σθαι. ΣΤΡ. πότερα τὴν κληρουχικὴν;

12. οἱ ἵπποβόται. See *Hist. Greece*, ii. 20, Strabo, p. 447, speaking of the colonies of Chalcis says: ἐστάλησαν αἱ ἀποικίαι αὗται, καθάπερ εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἡνίκα ἡ τῶν Ἴπποβοτῶν καλουμένη ἐπεκράτει πολιτεία· προέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἄνδρες ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες. A horse was an expensive luxury in Greece, which only rich men could afford; cf. *τεθριπποτρόφος οἰκία* (vi. 35) etc. Aristotle *Pol.* iv. 3 = 1298 b 39 quotes the Chalcidians and Eretrians as instances of oligarchies which maintained their power by their cavalry.

15. δίμνεως, cf. vi. 79. 5. Prof. Goodwin, *American Phil. Trans.* 1883, puts the value of the Euboic talent of silver at £200, and of the Aeginetan at £276, assuming that silver is worth 52½*d.* an ounce (a talent weighed 57¾ pounds avoirdu-

pois). At this rate the Euboic mina is £3 13*s.* 4*d.* and the Aeginetan £4 12*s.* 0*d.*, so that the ransom would be £7 6*s.* 8*d.* on one calculation, and £9 4*s.* 0*d.* on the other. If we consider a drachma a day as good pay in Greece as 3*s.* 4*d.* now we must multiply these sums by five to get a tolerable modern equivalent.

18. τειχέων. The north wall of the acropolis is meant, at the point opposite the westernmost chamber of the Erechtheum.

19. Μήδου. Cf. *infr.* c. 104.

21. τέθριππον χάλκεον. Cf. Paus. i. 28. 2, in whose time the chariot was still to be seen *in situ*.

23. ἐς τὰ προπύλαια. These may or may not be the Propylaea of Mnesicles, which were finished in 432 B. C.;—if they were, the passage would be much later than c. 76. 7, see note; but in any case, the offering can hardly have been set up before the Persian invasion, or it

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
 παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,
 δεσμῶ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
 τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

25

Demo-
cracy.

- 78 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἡϋξήντο· δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν
 μῶνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἡ ἰσηγορίη ὥς ἔστι χρήμα σπου-
 δαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν
 τῶν σφεας περιοικέοντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους,
 ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῶ πρώτοι ἐγένοντο.⁵
 δηλοῖ ὦν ταῦτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὥς
 δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκα-
 στος ἐωυτῷ προεθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι.

The
Thebans
attack the
Athenians.

- 79 Οὔτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ
 ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθη-
 ναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη

would have perished in the general conflagration. Fragments of an inscription have been discovered, which seem to form a part of this epigram; see *C. I. A.* i. 334. From the form of the letters Kirchhoff concludes that the inscription belongs to the time of Pericles;—after the conquest of Euboea in 446 B. C. If this is right, Herodotus has either confounded the earlier and later conquest of Euboea, or both were commemorated in one inscription. [We are not told that Pericles took any captives in 446; and our epigram is said to be the work of Simonides who died in 469 B. C. Others, however, ascribe it to Agron. Cf. Aristid. ii. 312, Dind. with the schol.],

28. τῶν. We should expect ἀπὸ τῶν. Cf. *supr.* 59. 6.

78. 2. ἰσηγορίη, 'equal freedom,' equal right to speak, 'especially of

speaking and voting in matters of state': Pape, who quotes Xen. *Ath. Rep.* i. 12 διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς. 'Universe ἰσηγορία significare videtur jus libere loquendi apud aliquem.' Bake, in Dind.'s Xen. p. XLIX. (Oxford ed.).

6. ἐθελοκάκεον, 'would not do their best' (cf. viii. 22. 14), a common word in Herodotus. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 17. 322 ἡμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἀνέρος εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔλῃσιν. Xerxes is represented as maintaining the opposite view, vii. 103. 20 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίαντ' ἂν, δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες.

79. 2. ἐς θεόν, i.e. Apollo at

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκοντας ἐκέ-
 5 λευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, ἀπελθόντων ὧν τῶν θεο-
 πρόπων ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὡς
 ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι,
 εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων “οὐκῶν ἄγχιστα
 ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θε-
 10 σπιέες; καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύ-
 μως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον· τί δεῖ τούτων γε
 δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ χρηστήριον.”
 τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις “ἐγώ 80
 μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον. Advice of
 Δωπόου λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴ- Delphi.
 γινα· τουτέων ἀδελφεῶν ἐουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινη-

Delphi. The article is omitted as with πόλις, βασιλεύς (= King of Persia).

4. πολύφημον. The word is no doubt taken from the actual response: in Hom. *Od.* 2. 150 we have ἀγορὴν πολύφημον = the meeting place for discussion. Cf. iv. 163. 12 τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον (also in an oracle).

6. ἐξέφερον, i.e. the authorities at Thebes. Tanagra lay east, Thespieae west of Thebes—between her and the sea: Coronea was to the north—beyond Haliartus, which is here passed over. It is interesting to find that Thespieae is spoken of as a warm friend of Thebes. Their amicable relations came to an end with the Persian invasion.

8. ἄγχιστα . . . οἰκέουσι. The Thebans confuse local proximity with nearness of kin.

12. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ, κ.τ.λ. ‘But more probably this is not the meaning of the oracle.’ This is the first

example of a construction very common in Plato, used also by Aristotle, and found once in Demosthenes, in which μὴ with the subjunctive expresses a suspicion that something *may be* or *may prove to be* true, and μὴ οὐ with the subjunctive a suspicion that something *may not be* true.’ W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of Greek Moods*, p. 92.

80. 1. ἐπιλεγομένων, sc. τῶν Θηβαίων.

2. θέλει; cf. iv. 131. 9 γινῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν; *infr.* vi. 37. 10.

3. Δωπόου, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* vii. 16 f. There was a Boeotian Asopus and a Peloponnesian Asopus (near Sicyon), and perhaps one in Aegina, Pind. *Nem.* 3. 4. In legend Asopus of Phlius was the father of numerous daughters, Diod. iv. 72 enumerates twelve, among them Aegina, Thebe, Tanagra; cf. Paus. ii. 5. 2, 12. 5.

4. ἡμῖν with γενέσθαι.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f

τέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητῆρων γενέσθαι.” καὶ οὐ γάρ τις γνώμη ταύτης ἀμείνων ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγινητέων ἐπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων ἀγχιστέων.^a οἱ δέ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν. πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίς οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλη ἐπαερθέν-⁵τες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον. ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης¹⁰ πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσίνοντο.^b

The
Aeginetans
aid the
Thebans.

^a ἀγχιστέων P r (sv): ἀγχίστων A B C, St.

^b ἐσικνέοντο AB: ἐσίνοντο A m. sec.: ἐσινέοντο cett. ‘Humanī quid passus est Stein, quum crederet ἐσικνέοντο sanum esse et significare *pungebant*,’ Cob.

9. τοὺς Αἰακίδας, i. e. the figures of the Aeacidae; see *supr.* c. 75.

11. Under the name are meant Aeacus and his descendants Telamon and Teucer.

81. 4. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν. Stein remarks οἱ δέ would be more in harmony with the usage of Herodotus, but acquiesces in the use of the article, quoting *infr.* 13. 15 ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας. Krüger denies that τῶν is the article, and explains: ‘asked them for men’—a double genitive. For the prosperity of Aegina, see *infr.* 83. In ix. 80. 12 Herodotus seems to derive the great wealth

of the Aeginetans from the harvest which they reaped by cheating the Helots at Plataea; but he may be speaking there of the wealth of the great families of the city, who appear in Pindar. The commercial greatness of the island reaches back to a far earlier time, as is clear from the antiquity of the Aeginetan coins, measures, etc. The θαλασσοκρατία of the Aeginetans is placed in the ten years ending 482 B.C. by Eusebius.

6. ἐχούσης ἐς, cf. vi. 2. 19.

7. πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, against the usage of more civilised Greece; see Hermann, *Staatsalt.* 10. 3.

12. Stein reads ἐσικνέοντο in the

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἢ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν 82
 Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε. Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἢ Ancient
 γῇ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὦν τῆς συμ- quarrel
 φορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδάυριοι ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι· ἢ δὲ Πυ- between
 5 θίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίας τε καὶ Αὐξησίης ἀγάλματα Athens and
 ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ σφίι ἰδρυσαμένοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. Aegina.
 ἐπειρώτεον ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδάυριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιέωνται Damia and
 τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ λίθου· ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ οὐδέτερα τούτων Auxesia.
 ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδάυ-
 10 ριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφίσι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας
 δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι

sense of 'pungebant,' 'afflicted,' quoting Aesch. *Suppl.* 556 εἰσικνου-
 μένου βέλει βουκόλου. But far better
 are the readings ἐσινέοντο, ἐσίνοντο
 adopted by Krüger and Cobet.—
 We may observe that Herodotus
 persistently depreciates the Aegi-
 netans. It is Lampon the Aegi-
 netan who proposes to Pausanias to
 crucify the body of Mardonius, a
 still greater outrage on the laws of
 Greek warfare than that recorded in
 this chapter (ix. 78). The Aegi-
 netans cheat the Helots by buying
 gold from them as brass (ix. 80).
 They refuse to pay the fine imposed
 upon them by Argos for supplying
 ships to Cleomenes—ἦσαν τε αὐθα-
 δέστεροι: vi. 92. 13 (cf. *infra*. 83. 5
 ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι). Their ex-
 pulsion from the island by the
 Athenians is but the penalty of
 their cruelty and sacrilege when
 suppressing the popular outbreak,
 vi. 91. 5.

82. 2. Cf. i. 167, and iv. 151,
 in which cases also Delphi was
 consulted.

5. Damia is obviously the god-
 dess of cultivation; cf. δῆμος, 'cul-
 tivated land'; Auxesia is the god-
 dess of increase. Paus. ii. 30. 4
 gives a summary of the account
 of Herodotus, adding: εἰδὼν τε τὰ
 ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ
 τὰ αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι θύειν
 νομίζουσιν. At Troezen, where the
 goddesses were also worshipped,
 a different account was given of
 them: Paus. ii. 32. 2 ἐς δὲ τὴν
 Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν—καὶ γὰρ Τροι-
 ζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν—οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν
 λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ
 Κρήτης. They were stoned to death
 and for this reason the festival in
 their honour was called λιθοβόλια.
 At Athens the names of the Charites
 were Auxô and Hegemone; the
 names of the Horae, Karpô and
 Thallô, Paus. ix. 35. 2.

9. ἡμέρης ἐλαίης, sc. ποιέεσθαι
 ἐκέλευε.

10. ἱρωτάτας. The so-called
 μορίαί at Athens were considered
 sacred, and were strictly protected

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον κείνον ἢ ἐν
 Ἀθήνησι. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' ὧ
 ἀπάξουσιν ἕτερος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῇ πολιάδι ἱρὰ
 καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεί. καταινέσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπι-¹⁵
 δαύριοι τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν
 ἐλαιέων τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ ἡ τε γῆ σφι
 ἔφερε καρπὸν, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο.
 83 τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν^a πρὸ τούτου Αἰγινῆται
 Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες
 ἐς Ἐπίδauρον ἐδίδουσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων
 οἱ Αἰγινῆται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νέας τε πηξάμενοι καὶ

Epidaurus
and
Aegina

^a τὸν om. St. qui et ὥς ante καί interponere volebat.

by law; see especially Lysias, *περὶ σηκοῦ*. In the legend the olive was the gift of Athena to Attica; hence the view that only in Attica were olives to be found. The *Bretas* of Athena in the Erechtheum was of olive wood, and indeed the most ancient statues of deities were generally of wood of some kind. See Paus. viii. 17. 2 τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅποσα καὶ ἡμεῖς καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, τοσάδε ἦν ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ξόανα ἐποιούντο, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ κέδροι, τὰ δρύινα, ἡ μῖλαξ, ὁ λωτός. The statue of Cyllenian Hermes was of θύος.

13. ἐπ' ὧ ἀπάξουσιν. So in their arrangements with Erythrae and Brea, the Athenians require that contributions shall be made to the Panathenaea at Athens; see *C. I. A.* i. 9, 31.

14. Athena and Erechtheus were worshipped from very early times in one temple on the acropolis; cf. *II.* ii. 547, where Athena enters 'the

firm-built house of Erechtheus.' According to one legend Erechtheus was the son of Athena and Hephaestus; according to another he was the god Poseidon. See viii. 44, 55.

83. 2. δίκας διαβαίνοντες, κ.τ.λ. Here again we have a precedent for the subsequent conduct of Athens towards her allies. But in this case the custom was due to the fact that the Aeginetans—after the Dorian conquest of the island—were Dorians from Epidaurus: viii. 46. Paus. ii. 29. 5 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδauρον ὁμοῦ Δηφόντῃ κατασχόντων διαβᾶσα ἐς Αἰγίνα καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φώνην κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ.

4. νέας τε πηξάμενοι. The time cannot be fixed with any certainty, but νέας = ν. μακράς (*supr.* 81. 9, *infr.* c. 85 *τριήρει*), and if this is to be pressed, the date is subsequent to the introduction of the trireme = *cir.* 700 B.C.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

5 ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυ-
 ρίων. ἅτε δὲ ἑόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὥστε
 θαλασσοκράτορες ἑόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα
 ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίας καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται
 αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἰδρύσαντο τῆς σφε-
 10 τέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἷῃ μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα,
 στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὥς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει.
 ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίῃσί τε σφέα καὶ
 χοροῖσι γυναικῆίοισι κερτομίοισι ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀπο-
 δεικνυμένων ἐκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς
 15 δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας
 γυναικας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ αὐταὶ
 ἱρουργίαι· εἰσὶ δέ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι. κλεφθέν- 84
 των δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοῖσι Ἀθη-
 ναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ^a ἐπετέλεον. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον
 5 λόγῳ ὥς οὐκ ἀδικέοιεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ
 ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ

^a οὐκέτ' ἐτέλεον Schwgh.: οὐκέτι ἐπετέλεον F. Palm.

10. Bursian, *Geogr. Griech.* ii. 84, ventures to identify Oea with Palaeachora, about half way between the city and the ruins of the great temple of Athena, but this is merely a guess.

13. χοροῖσι γυναικῆίοισι κερτομίοισι, lit. 'abusive choruses of women.' Cf. the Egyptian feast at Bubastis, ii. 60 αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναικας. In *Pol.* vii. 17 = 1336 b 17 Aristotle speaks of certain deities οἷς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος—these were especially Demeter and Dionysus. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1362

ἵν' αὐτὸν τωθάσω νεανικῶς, οἷοις ποθ' οὗτος ἐμὲ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων.

ἀποδεικνυμένων, i. e. by the state.

15. ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, i. e. it was a female festival, like the Thesmophoria at Athens, but the choruses were organised and provided for through the state, as in the Dionysia at Athens.

17. σφι, i. e. the Aeginetans. The abusive side of the performance was only the external side; there were mysteries connected with the worship. Compare the account of the Thesmophoria in ii. 171.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

The
Athenians
and the
Aeginetans.

δὲ ἐστερῆσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον^a εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέ-
λευον. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἴγιναν πέμψαντες
ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινήται ἔφασαν σφίσι¹⁰
85 τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν
νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ
μιῇ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἴγιναν τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα
ὥς σφετέρων ξύλων ἔοντα ἐπειρῶντο^b ἐκ τῶν βάθρων⁵
ἐξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται· οὐ δυναμένους
δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας
σχοινία ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἔλκουσι βροντὴν
τε καὶ ἅμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ
τριηρίτας τοὺς ἔλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι,¹⁰
παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίου,

^a δίκαιοι Bekk., Van H.^b πειρᾶν A B C.

84. 8. πρήσσεσθαι, sc. τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους.

10. σφίσι . . . πρῆγμα, 'They and
the Athenians had nothing to do
with one another.' Cf. Eur. *Med.*
451 ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα. Dem. *De*
Cor. 283 διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ
καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα.

85. 3. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, 'publico
nomine,' Schwgh.: cf. viii. 135. 8
τῶν ἀστῶν αἰρέτους ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ
τοῦ κοινοῦ, and vi. 92. 14 ἀπὸ τοῦ
δημοσίου. In order to mark the con-
trast of the Athenian and Aeginetan
accounts, two points are brought for-
ward: (1) that but one ship was sent;
(2) that the Athenians had no inten-
tion of making an armed attack on
the Aeginetans.

9. τοὺς τριηρίτας. The same
word, which is rare, is used of the
envoys sent by Athens to Segesta in
415 B.C.: Thuc. vi. 47 ἰδίᾳ ξενίσεις
ποιούμενοι τῶν τριηριτῶν. In this
case it can hardly mean the rowers,
and perhaps Herodotus wishes us to
distinguish between the crew of the
vessel and the commissioners.

10. ἀλλοφρονῆσαι, 'lost their
wits,' and so failed to recognize
their friends. [ἀλλογνῶσαι, which
in Hippocrates means 'to go mad,'
is used by Herodotus, i. 85. 12, in the
sense 'failing to recognize.' In *Il.*
23. 698 ἀλλοφρονέοντα is = 'stunned,'
as here, but in *Od.* 10. 374 it means
'with thoughts elsewhere,' and so
in Herod. vii. 205 *ult.*]

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

ἐς δ' ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν
 ἐς Φάληρον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, 86
 Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὐ μιῇ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν The
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μιῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον Aeginetan
 εἶναι νέες, ἀπαμύνεσθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι
 5 νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αὐτοὶ δέ σφι εἶξαι
 καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι
 ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἥσσονες συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ
 ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆ-
 σαι οἶόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπεῖτε
 10 σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν
 νεῶν τράπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ
 ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομέ-
 νους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς δ' ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμ-
 φότερα τῶντ' ἐποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες,
 15 ἄλλω δέ τ' ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ

12. ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτόν, 'was conveyed back alone,' sc. by the rowers in the vessel—instead of conveying back the images, ἓνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται (*supr.*).

86. 2. μίαν, 'For even if they (the Aeginetans) had had no ships of war, they could easily have beaten off one ship, and more than one, if only a few more.'

6. οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. This fact was agreed upon. The Aeginetans had to meet the question: Why, if the Athenians' attack was hostile, was there no sea fight? They reply that either they had not sufficient ships to meet the enemy, or they wished to entrap them on shore.

8. κατὰ τοῦτο, 'for this reason,' as *supr.*, c. 3.

14. ἐμοὶ μὲν, κ.τ.λ. For instances

of similar incredulity see iv. 5, where Herodotus will not believe that Targiteus was the son of Zeus and the daughter of the Borysthenes; iv. 42, that the sun was seen on the right hand by those who circumnavigated Africa; iv. 25, that there are goat-footed men; iii. 116, or one-eyed men: see also iv. 36; viii. 120; i. 182. Herodotus is slow to believe anything which confounds the human and divine natures; or anything which seems to contradict the laws of nature, whether physical or biological.

15. σφι, 'before them.' The statues were no doubt represented as kneeling, and this was the story told to account for their unusual position.

ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθη-
ναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιέειν· σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέ-
γουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας
στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ
Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ ἦκειν 20
βοηθέοντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπι-
δαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακηκοόσι
τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπесεῖν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν
νεῶν, ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ
87 τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι. λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε
καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθη-
ναίων ἓνα μόνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀτ-
τικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ
Ἀπτικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον 5
περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου· περιγενέσθαι
μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἓνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ
τοιῷδε. κομισθεὶς γὰρ^a ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγελλε τὸ
πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἶγιναν
στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον 10
μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ-
τον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῇσι περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων
εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὅκου εἴη ὁ ἐωυτῆς ἀνὴρ. καὶ
τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ

^a γάρ B² Pr: ἄρα A B C, St.

19. ἐτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι,
lit. 'got Argives in readiness,' i. e.
sought the aid of the Argives. So, at
a later stage in the long conflict of
Aegina and Athens, Argives come
to the aid of Aegina, vi. 92. On
the other hand, Argos and Epi-
daurus were never on very friendly
terms; see Thuc. v. 53.

23. τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, i. e. their

communications with the ships.

87. 3. ἓνα μόνον is the predicate
to γενέσθαι.

6. περιγενέσθαι, sc. λέγουσι Ἀθη-
ναῖοι.

11. πέριξ, 'in their midst'; adv.,
cf. *infr.* 115. 9. πέριξ is more com-
monly a preposition in Herodotus.
For a similar act of ferocity on the
part of the Athenian women, cf. ix. 5.

Savagery
of the
Athenian
women.

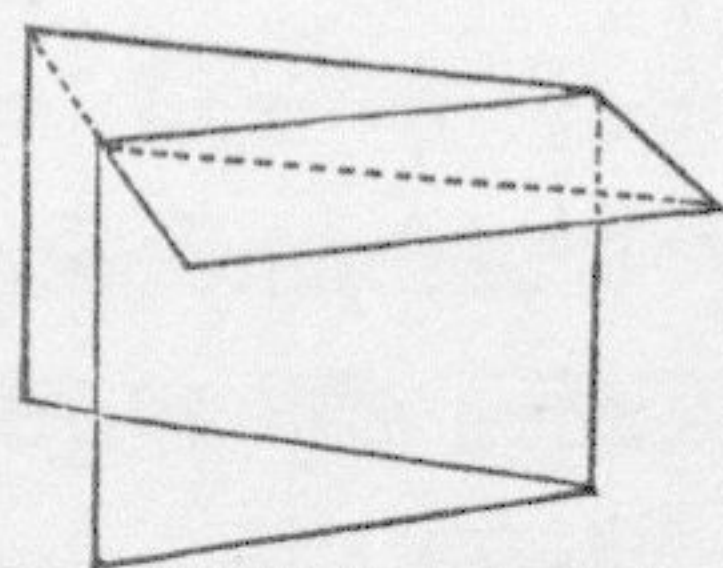
ATHENS. B.C. 507 f.; Ol. 68. 2 f.

15 *πάθεος δεινότερόν τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεω ζημιώσῃσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα. ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην. με-*
 20 *τέβαλον ὧν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται. ἔστι δὲ ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ Ἰὰς 88*
αὕτη ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἡ γε Ἑλ-
ληνικὴ ἐσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίῃ τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὐτῇ ἦν

Greek
Dress.

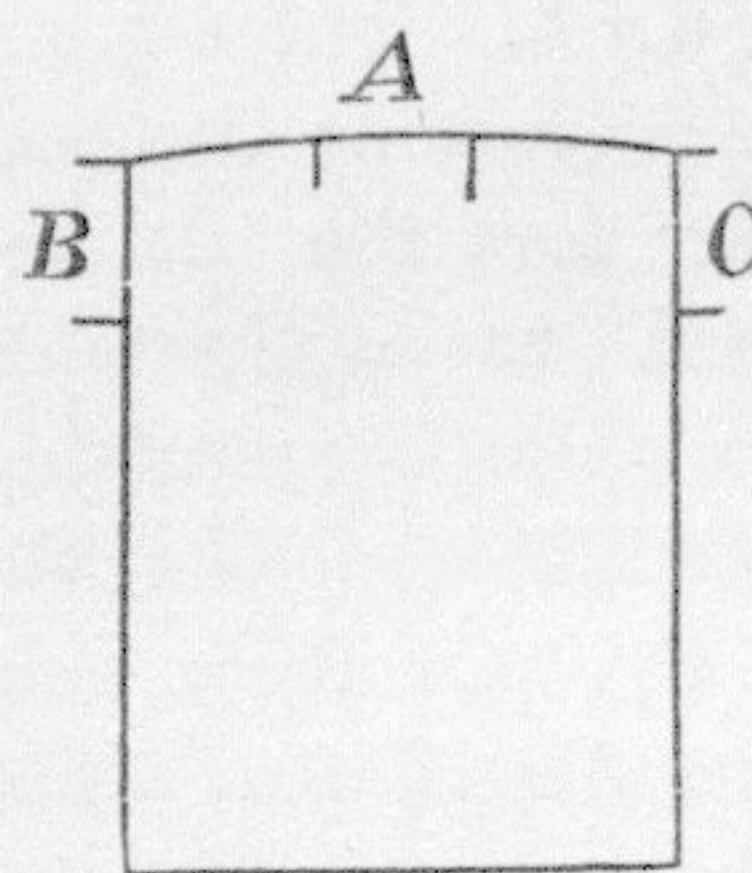
16. ἄλλω may either be taken with ὅτεω, or being = ἄλλο it is attracted into the case of the relative.

17. τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thucydides, i. 6, who says of the Athenians: οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινούς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν εὐδαιμόνων. Comparing Thucydides and Herodotus we conclude that the Athenians first wore the woollen Dorian dress: then the Carian or Ionian linen dress, from which they returned to the Dorian. In Homer the epithet ἑλκεσίπεπλοι is given to the Trojan women, and in *Il.* 13. 685 the Ionians are called Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες: cf. Homer, *Hymn Apoll.*, in Thuc. iii. 104. We must distinguish two types of Greek female dress (1) The Dorian or old Hellenic, a square woollen cloth, of which the upper edge was folded down—it being longer than the body was high. It was folded round the body and pinned over the shoulder, so that one side was closed, the other open or closed partially with pins; at a later time the open side was partially,



or wholly, sewn up. This is the πέπλος, and is sometimes called ἱμάτιον, being in fact the only

garment worn by Dorian women. It is a developed form of it which appears in the frieze of the Parthenon, and the Caryatids of the Erechtheon. (2) The Ionian or Carian linen *Chiton*. This was originally a long oblong garment, with holes for the neck and arms (A, B, C),



and neither pin nor brooch was required. The word χιτῶν is said to be Phoenician; and it is possible that this linen garment

was brought by Carians and Phoenicians to the Attic coast. Cf. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der altgriechischen Tracht*, Wien, 1886 (p. 6 ff., 13 ff., 29 f.).

19. τῇ Κορινθίῃ. Nothing is known of the special type of Corinthian dress, which these words suggest.

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4 f.

τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν. τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι καὶ^a πρὸς ταῦτα [ἔτι τόδε ποιῆσαι]^b νόμον εἶναι⁵ παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέροισι, τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν¹⁰ αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.

The
Aeginetans
at war with
Athens.

89 Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγινήτεων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ^c τούτου κατ' ἔριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ἐξ^d Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὰ εἴρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προθύμως⁵ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐβοήθεον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. Αἰγινῆταί τε δὲ

^a καί: δόξαι? St.

^b ἔτι... ποιῆσαι secl. St. Cf. Krüger qui τόδε ποιῆσαι et παρὰ σφίσι deletat.

^c ἐκ Krüg.: ἐκ τε Libb.

^d Ἀθηναίοισι Pr (sv).

88. 4. τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι... καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. There is no construction for ποιῆσαι as the text now stands, or for the dative. Krüger proposed to omit τόδε ποιῆσαι and παρὰ σφίσι, constructing the acc. and infinitive (νόμον εἶναι) with λέγεται, c. 87. Or there may be a lacuna after Αἰγινήτησι. The general sense is, of course, quite clear.

7. ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν. The Argives may have used the temple at Aegina. Stein suggests the temple at Troezen (*supr.* 82). But what had the Argives to do with Troezen?

9. προσφέρειν, sc. τὰς γυναῖκας.

10. κέραμον. The Attic pottery

was known all over the Grecian world for its excellence at a very early time. The exclusion from Aegina may point, as Stein suggests, to a rivalry between the Aeginetan and Attic manufactures, but of course exclusive rules of this kind were common enough. The Halicarnasians were excluded from the Dorian Hexapolis (i. 144); the Lampsacenes from the games in the Chersonesus (vi. 38); the Eleans from the Isthmian Games (Paus. v. 2. 2. f.; vi. 3. 9; vi. 16. 2).

11. αὐτόθι, i. e. in the temple.

89. 1. ἐκ τούτου. 'From that time.'

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4 f.

ἐδρίουν τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι
 ὀρμημένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἦλθε μαν-
 10 τήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινητέων ἀδι-
 κίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ Αἰακῷ τέ-
 μενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέ-
 μου καὶ σφί χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα
 ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφεας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ
 15 χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν, τέλος μέντοι
 καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ
 νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἴδρυται, τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ
 ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅπως χρεὸν εἶη ἐπισχεῖν πεπον-
 θότας ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων ἀνάρσια. ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ πα- 90
 ρασκευαζομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα
 ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην με-
 5 μηχανημένα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ
 τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλῆν, ὅτι τε
 ἄνδρας ξείνους σφίσι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκεί-
 νων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο

The Lace-
 daemonians
 summon an
 assembly
 of their
 allies with
 the view of
 restoring
 Hippias.

10. ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ . . . τριήκοντα
 ἔτεα κ.τ.λ. The Athenians were
 to remain inactive for thirty
 years: i.e. for a whole generation.
 ἀδικίου, 'outrage,' is only found
 elsewhere in the legal language of
 Athens, in which a δίκη ἀδικίου was
 a form of process. For ἀπό = 'after'
 cf. *supr.* 83. 4 ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

11. Αἰακῷ, the hero of Aegina,
 who was by this process to be won
 over to the side of Athens. So the
 Spartans acquired the bones of Orestes
 before they were victorious over the

Tegeatae.

14. πολλὰ μὲν, κ.τ.λ. As a fact
 the war did linger on from this date
 507-506 B.C. to 481 B.C., when the
 quarrel was made up on the ap-
 proaching invasion of the Persians.
 It was renewed in 459, and after a
 long siege Aegina submitted—456?
 In 431 the Aeginetans were expelled
 by the Athenians; see vi. 91. 6.

90. 2. πρῆγμα, 'hindrance,'
 'trouble.'

4. τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, κ.τ.λ.
 See *supr.*, c. 63.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. ἔτι^a τε πρὸς τούτοισι ἐνῆγόν σφεας οἱ
 χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι¹⁰
 ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαέες, τότε δὲ
 Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτήσατο
 δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρη-
 σμούς, τοὺς ἔκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,
 ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ¹⁵
 91 ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε. τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων
 αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἔοντας πείθεσθαι
 σφίσι, νόῳ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἔδν τὸ γένος τὸ
 Ἀπτικὸν ἰσόρροπον ἂν^b τῷ ἑωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον⁵
 δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέεσθαι ἔτοιμον·
 μαθόντες δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο Ἰππίην τὸν

^a ἔτι δέ? Krüg.^b ἂν post ἰσόρροπον add. St.: ante γίνοιτο r.

9. ἐνῆγον, 'stimulated,' 'incited.'
 οἱ χρησμοί. Cf. *supr.* 43, where the
 oracles of Laius are quoted to the
 Spartan Dorians. In the same manner
 the Spartans have an oracle which
 speaks of the Medes and Athenians
 as likely to conquer Peloponnesus
 (viii. 141). For the use which the
 Peisistratids made of oracles, see vii.
 6, and *infr.* 93, where Hippias is
 said to have known the oracles more
 accurately than any one else. Oracles
 were a well-known means of in-
 fluencing the people in the Pelopon-
 nesian war: see esp. Aristoph.
Knights 1000 ff.

11. τῶν, i. e. χρησμῶν.

15. ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, see *supr.* 72. 16.16. ἀνέλαβε, lit. 'recovered,' as
 if lost, or misplaced, because they
 referred to Sparta.

91. The Lacedaemonians had

no doubt hoped to establish an oli-
 garchy in Athens, and by this means
 to bring the city within the Pelo-
 ponnesian league. When the oli-
 garchy was impossible, they were
 willing to restore the tyranny, which,
 if maintained in power by them,
 would have been to some degree
 subservient. Along with this went
 the feeling—so strong among the
 Greeks—that a people when not self-
 governed were incapable of energy.
 Stein, on *supr.* 78 (quod vid.) quotes
 a striking passage from Hippocrates,
 περὶ ἀερ. 23 αἱ γὰρ ψυχαὶ δεδούλων-
 ται καὶ οὐ βούλονται παρακινδυνεύειν
 ἐκόντες εἰκῇ ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίης δυνάμιος·
 ὅσοι δὲ αὐτόνομοι, ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν γὰρ
 τοὺς κινδύνους αἰρεῦνται καὶ οὐκ ἄλ-
 λων, προθυμεῦνται ἐκόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ
 δεινὸν ἔρχονται· τὰ γὰρ ἀριστεῖα τῆς
 νίκης αὐτοὶ φέρονται.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ [ἐς ὃ
καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι]^a. ἐπεῖτε δέ σφι Ἰππίης
10 καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμ-
μάχων ἀγγέλους ἔλεγον σφι Σπαρτιῆται τάδε. “ ἄνδρες
σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρ-
θῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μαντηίοισι ἄνδρας
ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑπο-
15 χειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος
ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δήμῳ ἀχαρί-
στῳ παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν, ὃς ἐπεῖτε δι’ ἡμέας ἐλευ-
θερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων
περιυβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται, ὥστε^b
20 ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιω-
τοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδέες, τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται
ἀμαρτῶν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν
πειρησόμεθά σφεας^c ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι. αὐ-
τοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἰππίην μετεπεμψάμεθα
25 καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῶ τε λόγῳ καὶ

^a ἐς ὃ . . . Πεισιστρατίδαι del. Wess.^b ὥσπερ? St.: ὥς γε Ab.^c σφεα Eltz: σφεας Libb.: ἀκεόμενοι sine τίσασθαι B² r (sv), Eltz.

14. ἀναδεκομένους, κ.τ.λ. We do not know of any such arrangement between the Peisistratidae and the Spartans. No doubt Isagoras and Cleomenes were quite at one in the matter.

19. περιυβρίσας. Cf. *supr.* 74. 3. δόξαν φύσας, ‘having got a spirit,’ i.e. a high opinion of themselves: almost like the slang expression, ‘fancying themselves.’

20. With ἐκμεμαθήκασι supply ἀμαρτόντες. This is, it is true, against the facts, for the Boeotians and Chalcidians had not made such

a mistake as the Spartans, yet, as Krüger says, they had failed to see how dangerous Athens had become by the expulsion of her tyrants. Stein, however, would supply δόξαν φύσαντα αὐξάνεσθαι with ἐκμεμαθήκασι.

23. σφεας, κ.τ.λ. It is doubtful whether we should not read with B, *m. sec.*, ἀκεόμενοι for ἀπικόμενοι, omitting τίσασθαι. σφεας should then be changed into σφεα (‘these evils’) Eltz. So Krüger and Cobet.

24. τόνδε. Hippias being present in the assembly.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f. ; Ol. 68. 4.

κοινῷ στόλῳ ἔσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶ-
μεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα.”

- 92 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος
οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον,
(α) Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς^a ἔλεξε τάδε. “ ἡ δὲ ὅ τε οὐρανὸς
ἔσται ἐνερθε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσι καὶ ἰχθύες τὸν
πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰσο-
κρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατὰγειν⁵
παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερόν ἐστι οὐδὲν κατ’
ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε
δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πό-
λεις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι

^a σωσικλῆς P r (sv) et infra.

92. α. 1. Cf. Archilochus *Frag.*
51. P., who is speaking of an eclipse:
Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἀπίελπτα
γίγνεται Ἀνδράσιν· μηδεὶς ἔθ’ ὑμῶν
εἰσορῶν θαυμάζέτω, Μηδ’ ὅταν δελ-
φῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομὸν Ἐνά-
λιον καὶ σφιν θαλάσσης ἡχῆεντα κύ-
ματα Φίλτερ’ ἡπείρου γένηται, τοῖσιν
ἡδίων δ’ ὅρος. Also Eur. *El.* 720.

3. νομόν, ‘habitation.’

4. ἰσοκρατίας. The Corinthians,
being themselves an oligarchy, would
not use the word δημοκρατίας. And
indeed few of the cities in the Pelo-
ponnesian confederacy would wish
for anything beyond an ἰσόνομος ὀλι-
γαρχία. ἰσοκρατία implies equality of
any kind, even of men and women;
see iv. 26. *ult.* The Spartans had the
credit of being bitterly opposed to
tyrants, not only in their own state—
where the attempt to establish the
royal prerogative was crushed at a
very early time, cf. Arist. *Pol.* v.

12 = 1316 α 34 μεταβάλλει τυραννὶς
εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι—but in the other cities
also. Plut. *De mal.* Herod. 21 καίτοι
πόλιν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις οὔτε φιλό-
τιμον οὔτως, οὔτε μισοτύραννον ἴσμεν,
ὥς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων γενομένην. As
instances of tyrants expelled by them,
he gives the Cypselids of Corinth and
Ambracia, Lygdamis of Naxos, the
Peisistratids of Athens, Aeschines of
Sicyon, Symmachus of Thasos, Aulis
of Phocis, Aristogenes of Miletus,
and the two Thessalian princes
whom Leotychidas suppressed—
Aristomedes and Angelus—but we
have no details except in the case of
the Peisistratids.

6. τοῦ οὔτε, κ.τ.λ. ‘Than which
thing.’ See the famous description
of tyranny in iii. 80.

9. παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι, second
person, cf. *supr.* c. 20, 18 ἐωυτῶν
(first person).

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

10 αὐτοῖσι οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίζησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν
 δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράννων ἄπειροι ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες
 τοῦτο δεινότατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶ-
 σθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατὰ
 περ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμ-
 βαλέσθαι ἢ περ νῦν. Κορινθίοισι γὰρ ἦν πόλις κατὰ (β)
 στασις τοιήδε. ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι κα-
 λεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ
 ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφίονι δὲ ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γίνε-
 5 ται θυγάτηρ χολή· οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. ταύτην
 Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἡετίων ὁ
 Ἐχεκράτεος, δήμου μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέ-

Story of
Cypselus,
tyrant of
Corinth.

12. παραχρᾶσθε, 'you regard it as a light matter,' sc. that the cities should be governed by tyrants. Cf. Schwgh. Lex. s. v. ἐς, 'in regard to.'

14. συμβαλέσθαι, 'contribute.' Cf. viii. 61 πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι (cf. i. 1. 13).

β. 2. ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη. For the early history of Corinth, see *Hist. of Greece*, i. 100, 344. At the Dorian conquest Aletes the Heracleid became king of the city, and the monarchy continued till the time of Telestes, 745 B.C. But owing to the eminence of Bacchis, the fifth king, the royal family were no longer called Heracleidae, but Bacchiadae. When the monarchy came to an end, a yearly Prytanis was chosen from the Bacchiadae, who, with a council of eighty members, governed the city. This oligarchy lasted ninety years, till 655 B.C. Strabo says of this family καὶ οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες, πλούσιοι

καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ γένος λαμπροί, διακόσια ἔτη σχεδόν τι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἀδεῶς ἐκαρπώσαντο· τούτους δὲ Κύψελος καταλύσας αὐτὸς ἐτυράννευσε, κ.τ.λ., p. 378.

3. ἐδίδοσαν for ἐξεδίδοσαν; cf. ii. 47, of the swine-herds in Egypt, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι θυγάτερα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν; Thuc. viii. 21, of the democrats at Samos, οὔτε ἐκδοῦναι οὐδ' ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων οὐδ' ἐς ἐκείνους οὐδενὶ ἔτι τοῦ δήμου ἐξῆν.

7. Petra is perhaps to be placed to the south of Corinth, on the slopes of the Argive mountains; so Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* i. 685 a. δήμου ἐκ Πέτρης. The formula is the same as that used in describing an Athenian, e.g. ix. 73 Σωφάνης ἐὼν δήμου Δεκελέηθεν, but we must not conclude that there was any arrangement of demes at Corinth like that at Athens. Petra was merely the place where Eetion (or Aetion in the Doric form; cf. αἰετός below) lived.

SPARTA. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

καθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης. ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης τῆς
 γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. ἐστάλη ὦν ἐς
 Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου. ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη 10
 προσαγορεύει τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.

Ἡετίων, οὐτίς σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔοντα.

Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
 ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίῳσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεταιί κως τοῖσι 15
 Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστή-
 ριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον τε ἐς τώυτὸ καὶ τὸ
 τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὧδε.

αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
 καρτερὸν ὠμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει. 20
 ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλήν
 Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον.

8. Λαπίθης καὶ Καινείδης. 'A Lapith and (among the Lapithae) a son of Caeneus.' Caeneus, the most famous of the Lapithae, was slain at the marriage of Peirithous, in Thes-saly. How Eetion derived his race from him is not stated. According to Pausanias, the ancestor of the Cypselids was Melas, the son of Antasus, who, in spite of the warn-ing of an oracle, was brought from his home at Gonoessa, near Sicyon, to Corinth by Aletes; see Duncker, *Hist. Greece* ii. 345 f.; Paus. ii. 4. 4; v. 18. 7, 8.

ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης, κ.τ.λ. 'He had no children by this or any other woman.' Cf. i. 215. 11 σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν, ii. 52. 3 ἐπωνυμίην δ' οὐδ' οὐνομα ἐποιεύντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν. In these cases the nega-tive is repeated; and a closer parallel

is furnished by Aristoph. *Birds* 694 γῇ δ' οὐδ' ἀῆρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν.

12. Ἡετίων . . . τίει, a play on words, as in αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι below.

13. ὀλοοίτροχον. Cf. viii. 52. 10 προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων ὀλοιτρό-χους ἀπίεσαν.

14. δικαίῳσει. δύο δηλοῖ τό τε κολλάζειν, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον νομίζειν· οὕτως Ἡρόδοτος: Suidas, s. v. δικαιοῦν.

17. ἄσημον, 'conveyed no mean-ing,' like a piece of money without any stamp on it. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1209 βοῆς ἄσημα.

22. For Peirene, see Smith's *Dict. Geog.* i. 680. Corinth is called by Pindar the city of Peirene (*Ol.* xiii. 86). See also Baedeker's *Griechen-land*, p. 241. ὀφρυόεντα is a com-mon epithet of Corinth derived from the situation of the city, which lay

SPARTA. B.C. 505; Ol. 68. 4.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν (γ)
 ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὥς ἐπύθον-
 το, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνῆκαν ἐὼν συνφδὸν τῷ
 Ἡετίωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέ-
 5 λοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡετίωνι γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι.
 ὥς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα
 ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἡετίων, ἀποκτενέον-
 τας τὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην καὶ His escape
 παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἡετίωνος αἵτεον τὸ παι- when a
 10 δίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυῖά τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνοι
 ἀπικοίατο, καὶ δοκέουσά σφεας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πα-
 τρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. τοῖσι
 δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λα-
 βόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔδωκε φέρουσα
 15 ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσ-
 εγέλασε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἰκτός
 τις ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδιδοῖ τῷ δευ-
 τέρῳ, ὁ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὕτω δὲ διεξῆλθε διὰ πάντων
 τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλομένου διεργά-
 20 σασθαι. ἀποδόντες ὦν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον
 καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων
 ἄπτοντο καταιτιώμενοι καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λα-
 βόντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα, ἐς ὃ δὴ
 σφι χρόνου ἐγγινομένου^a ἔδοξε αὐτὶς παρελθόντας πάν-

^a ἐγγενομένου St.

at the foot of the towering Acro-
 corinthus, on an elevated plateau.

γ. 14. προσουδίσαι, 'to dash to
 the ground.'

17. ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, 'restrains
 from killing.'

18. διεξῆλθε, sc. τὸ παιδίον. Ni-

colaus of Damascus, a contemporary
 of Augustus, has an account of
 Cypselus, which differs in some
 degree from that of Herodotus;
Frag. 58-60; see Appendix 9.

24. χρόνου ἐγγινομένου, 'after an
 interval.'

SPARTA. B.C. 505; Ol. 64. 4.

- (δ) τας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστῆναι. ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δείσασα δὲ μή σφι μεταδόξη καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφρα-⁵στότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένη ὥς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικνεοῖατο πάντα ἐρευνήσκειν μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι^a δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι αὐτοῖσι ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὥς πάντα ποιή-¹⁰σειαν τὰ ἐκείνοι ἐνετείλαντο. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ἡετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ηὔξανετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύψελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστή-⁵ριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν.

^a ἐσελθοῦσι Pr (sv), Cob.δ. 1. ἔδει. Cf. *supr.* c. 33.

5. ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον, i.e. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἀφρ. 'into a place which, as she thought, they would never guess.'

ε. 3. ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης. The name Cypselus is found elsewhere—e.g. Cypselus, father of Miltiades, the coloniser of the Chersonese, vi. 35. 3: Cypsela, the name of a town in Arcadia, Thuc. 5. 33. The legend may very well have arisen out of the name, but however this may be, the Cypselids commemorated the incident by dedicating a large chest, supposed to be this chest at Olympia, which was one of the most famous works of art

in antiquity, and is described in full by Pausanias, v. 17–19. See *History of Greece*, vol. i. 386.

5. ἀμφιδέξιον, "'ambiguous," a word unknown to Attic prose; how far the oracle was ambiguous is not clear,' Krüger. 'Ambidexter, ambiguous,' Schwgh. Stein does not accept this. 'The oracle is clear and definite so far as concerned Cypselus and his son, and finds its fulfilment.' He considers that ἀμφιδέσιος should be taken in the sense 'doubly δεξιός,' and as δεξιός is used of happy omens, the ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον is a doubly favourable oracle.

SPARTA. B.C. 505; Ol. 68. 4.

10 ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει,
Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου,
αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

Cypselus
becomes
tyrant,
655-625
B.C.

τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν, τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύ-
ψελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἦν ἀνὴρ· πολλοὺς μὲν Κο-
ρινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε,
πολλῶ^a δέ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τού- (ζ)
του ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ,
διάδοχός οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται.
ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ
625-585
B.C.

Periander
the son of
Cypselus.
625-585
B.C.

^a δέ τι Krüg.: δ' ἔτι Pr (sv): δέ A B: πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους vel πλεῦνας
Bekk., Van. H.

9. Ἡετίδης. Homer is sometimes compelled to use Δευκαλίδης for the 'son of Deucalion'; the termination -ωνίδης could not be brought into hexameter verse.

βασιλεύς. So the oracle politely puts it, and Cypselus was at any rate a descendant of the old royal family.

10. παίδων γε μὲν, κ.τ.λ. The sons of Periander died before him: see *History of Greece*, i. 389. Psammetichus, the son of his brother Gorgus, succeeded him, but only held the throne three years and some months; Arist. *Pol.* v. 12=1315 b 23.

11. τυραννεύσας. For the mode in which he acquired the tyranny, see Appendix 9 and cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 10=1310 b 29 where Cypselus is classed with Peisistratus and Dionysius as having acquired his power ἐκ δημαγωγίας. Aristotle in another passage, v. 12=1315 b 27, speaks of him as δημαγωγός, and continuing throughout his reign without a body-guard.

14. πολλῶ δέ τι πλείστους. So Krüger suggested, and Stein supports the reading by iii. 116 πολλῶ τι πλείστους: iv. 33 πολλῶ δέ τι πλείστα. The MSS. read πολλῶ δ' ἔτι (or πολλῶ δέ) and Bekker and Cobet would retain this and substitute πλεῦνας for πλείστους. With πολλῶ τι cf. παντάπασί τι and Purves, *Sel. from Plato*, p. 384.

ζ. 2. τριήκοντα. The tyranny of the Cypselids lasted in all seventy-three years and six months. So Aristotle states in general terms, but his items do not agree: Κύψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα (?), Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου (Γόργου) τρία ἔτη, *Pol.* l. c.

διαπλέξαντος. Alcman, *Frag.* 13. P. ὃδ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὖφρων ἀμέραν διαπλέκει ἄκλαυστος.

4. ἡπιώτερος, κ.τ.λ. That Periander was rendered more morose in the later years of his life by his misfortunes and disappointments is probable enough, but we need not

SPARTA. B.C. 505; Ol. 68. 4.

Periander
and
Thrasy-
bulus.

πατρός, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὤμίλησε δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ 5
τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαι-
φονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα
ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησά-
μενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι.
Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου 10
ἐξῆγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος, ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμέ-
νην ἅμα τε διεξήιε τὸ λήιον ἐπειρωτέων τε καὶ ἀναπο-
δίζων τὸν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ
ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέ-
χοντα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς δὲ τοῦ ληίου τὸ κάλλι- 15
στόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· διεξ-
ελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν ἀπο-
πέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς
τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην
ὁ Περιάνδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδέν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέ- 20
σθαι, θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ παρ' οἶόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀπο-

ascribe the change to the influence
of Thrasybulus.

5. Θρασυβούλῳ. See i. 20 ff. In
Arist. *Pol.* iii. 13 = 1284 b 26 the
story is reversed: τοὺς ψέγοντας
τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν Περιάνδρου
Θρασυβούλῳ συμβουλίαν οὐχ ἀπλῶς
οἰητέον ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν
Περιάνδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν
πεμφθέντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς συμβου-
λίας, ἀφαιροῦντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας
τῶν σταχύων ὁμαλῦναι τὴν ἄρουραν·
ὅθεν ἀγνοοῦντος μὲν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ
γινομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος
δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν Θρα-
σύβουλον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας
ἄνδρας ἀναιρεῖν. Cf. *ib.* v. 10 = 1311
a. 20. Aristotle goes on to observe
that oligarchies and democracies
have done the same. In Livy i. 54,

the story is told of Tarquinius Su-
perbus and his son Sextus.

12. ἀναποδίζων, lit. 'checking him
in his progress.' 'Going back to the
subject with.' 'Repetere jubens prae-
conem causam cur ad se Corintho
advenisset.' Schwgh. So Aeschin.
In Ctes. § 192 πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον
τὸν γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν
ἀναγιγνώσκειν τοὺς νόμους. κατὰ is
'with reference to.'

16. βαθύτατον. It is a little
doubtful whether βαθύτατον means
'tallest,' which suits the context,
and may be supported by τὸ βάθος
τῶν τριχῶν, *supr.* c. 9, or 'richest,'
'most abundant': cf. Homer, *Od.*
ix. 134 μάλα βαθὺ λήιον, and the
expression πλούτου βάθος.

21, 22. αὐτοῦ = Periander: μιν =

SPARTA. B. C. 505 f. ; Ol. 68. 4.

πέμψειε, ὡς παραπλήγιά τε καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ σινάμωρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τά περ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὁπώπεε. Πε- (η)
 ρίανδρος δὲ συνιείς τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νόῳ ἴσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς 5 πολίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρός σφρα ἀπετέλεσε, μιῇ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας διὰ τὴν ἐωυ- τοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρω- Periander
 τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαν- and
 10 τήιον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανείσα οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώ- Melissa.
 ρῳ ἡ παρακαταθήκη· ριγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τῶν γάρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε ἱματίων^a ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων· μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα

^a εἰμάτων Pr (sv), Cob., Van H.

the envoy. σινάμωρον, 'waster.' Cf. i. 152. 15 τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σινάμωρείειν, viii. 35. 4. In Attic the words have a different meaning: Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1070 γυνὴ σινάμωρουμένη, with the Schol.

η. 1. τὰ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὁπώπεε, 'what he had seen (done) by Thrasybulus.'

8. Μέλισσαν. Cf. iii. 50. According to Diog. Laert. i. 7. 1, her real name was Lyside, and the name Melissa was given to her by Periander. It was not uncommon: see Pape, *Lex. of Proper names*.

9. ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμόν. Strabo, p. 324 ἔπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὺς λιμὴν, εἰς δὲ ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμός, ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης. Leake, *Northern Greece*, i. 241 describes the valley

of the Acheron as 'one of the darkest and deepest of the glens of Greece.' Paus. i. 17. 5 πρὸς δὲ τῇ Κιχύρῳ λίμνῃ τέ ἐστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη καὶ ποταμός Ἀχέρων, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κωκυτὸς ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον. Ὅμηρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἑωρακὼς ἐς τε τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τῶν ἐν ἄδου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι θέσθαι. Cf. *History of Greece*, i. 10.

νεκυομαντήιον. For oracles of the dead, see Schömann, *Alt.* ii. p. 340. We hear of one at Heraclea on the Pontus, which was visited by Pausanias on his expulsion from Byzantium, Plutarch, *Cim.* 6.

14. οὐ κατακαυθέντων. Cf. *Il.* xxii. 510 f. of Hector, εὐλαὶ ἔδονται γυμνόν· ἄτάρ τοι εἶματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κέονται λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα τε-

SPARTA. B.C. 505f.; Ol. 68. 4.

ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἵπνον Περίανδρος τοὺς¹⁵
 ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ
 Περιάνδρῳ, (πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, ὃς νε-
 κρῶ εἴουση Μελίσση ἐμίγη), ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγε-
 λίην κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὸ "Ηραιοον ἐξιέναι πάσας²⁰
 τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς ὀρτὴν ἦισαν
 κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, ὁ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς
 δορυφόρους ἀπέδυσέ σφεας πάσας ὁμοίως, τὰς τε ἐλευ-
 θέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους, συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα
 Μελίσση ἐπενυχόμενος κατέκαιε. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι
 καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ Με-²⁵
 λίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χώρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακα-
 ταθήκην. τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστι ἡ τυραννίς, ᾧ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κοριν-
 θίους τότε^a αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε ὅτε ὑμέας εἶδομεν
 μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίην, νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θω-³⁰
 μάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλεό-
 μενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυ-

The Co-
 rinthians
 will not
 restore a
 tyrant.

^a τό τε Bekk.

τυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν· ἀλλ' ἢ τοι
 τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέῳ,
 οὐδὲν σοί γ' ὄφελος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκεί-
 σεαι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρώων καὶ
 Τρωιάδων κλέος εἶναι. In Homer
 the clothes even though burned are
 of no use to Hector, because he is
 not folded in them. See Van Her-
 werden, *Mnemos.* xiii. p. 136.

17. πιστόν, κ.τ.λ. According to
 another story the mother of Peri-
 ander hanged herself owing to her
 incestuous passion for her son. Plut.
Sep. Sap. Conviv. 2.

19. ἐς τὸ "Ηραιοον ἐξιέναι. Cf.
 Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 5; Smith, *Dict.*

Geogr. i. 685 b. The Heraeum lay
 at some distance from the city on
 the headland opposite Sicyon, and
 commanding the entrance to the
 bay of Lechaëum. [But can this be
 meant, and not rather the temple
 mentioned by Pausanias, ii. 4. 7, on
 the slope of Acro-Corinthus, at the
 west end of the city?]

23. ἐς ὄρυγμα. As offerings to
 the dead, see the scene in Hom. *Od.*
 xi. 25 βόθρον ὄρυξ' ὅσσον τε πυγού-
 σιον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ
 χοὴν χεόμην πᾶσιν νεκύεσσιν. Cf.
 Schömann, *l. c.* ii. 247.

32. θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους. Cf.

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

ραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις. οὐκὼν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσε-
σθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατάγοντες Ἰππίην.^a ἴστε ὑμῖν
35 Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας.”

Σωκλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε, 93
Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς
ἐκείνῳ, ἥ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν
Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφί ἤκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶ-
5 σθαι ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείψατο
οἶα τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος·
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυ-
χίῃ σφέας αὐτούς, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σωκλέος ἤκουσαν εἶπαν-
τος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας αἰρέετο
10 τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Λακεδαιμονίοισί τε ἐπεμαρ-
τυρέοντο μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα.^b

Failure of
the attempt
to restore
Hippias.

^a Ἰππίην; Krüg.

^b Ἑλληνίδα Pr (sv), Cob.

supr. 49, ix. 7. 12, and viii. 144. 15, Aristoph. *Knights*, 1253 Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον, when Cleon is defeated by the sausage-seller. Some of the worst iniquities of Periander are not mentioned, cf. iii. 48. The speaker confines himself to those actions by which the inhabitants of Corinth suffered.

33. οὐκὼν . . Ἰππίην ἴστε, κ.τ.λ. Cf. iv. 118. 10 οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν, κ.τ.λ. : i. 11, 59. What we should place in a hypothetical clause, ‘if you will not,’ etc., is here placed in an independent clause. Krüger softens the asyndeton by reading the clause as a question; but see Gaisford’s note on i. 11. 17 Voculam οὐκὼν ita usurpat Herodotus in sententia bimembri, ut alterum membrum sine conjunctione

subjiciat, ad quod proprie spectat ὦν, quum negatio ad prius referenda sit.

93. 4. ἀνιᾶσθαι. At this time the Corinthians were on excellent terms with the Athenians (see vi. 89 φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα), and we find them attempting to put an end to the quarrel between Boeotia and Athens (vi. 108). Afterwards the feeling changed: Themistocles and Adeimantus are bitter enemies in 480; at a later time the reception of the Megarians by the Athenians led to a most violent hatred (Thuc. i. 103). After the conclusion of the thirty years’ peace Corinth supported Athens in her treatment of Samos, but this may have been due to hatred of the Samians rather than friendship to Athens. Then followed the affairs of Epidamnus and Potidaea, which added fuel to the fire.

ATHENS. B. C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

- 94 Οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἐπαύσθη. Ἱππὶν δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπε-
 λαυνομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων^a βασιλεὺς
 Ἀνθεμόντα, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἴωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων
 μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρεε δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον, τὸ
 εἶλε Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῇ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας⁵
 δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα [τὸν]^b ἐωυτοῦ
 νόθον Ἠγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός.

Hippias
 retires to
 Sigeum :
 the con-
 quest of
 Sigeum.

^a ὁ Μακεδών r (sv), Cob.^b τὸν secl. St.

94. 2. Ἀμύντης. See *supr.* 18 f. Anthemus lay near Mygdonia, which Amyntas had taken from the Edonians. Leake, *N. Greece*, iii. 450 'As Thucydides shows the territory of Anthemus to have bordered upon Bisaltia, Crestonia, and Mygdonia, there seems no situation in which it can be placed but to the south-east of Crestonia.' Thuc. ii. 99. 100. We have no other evidence of a connection between the Peisistratidae and the Macedonians, but we know that Peisistratus had possessions on the Thermaic gulf, which may have induced Amyntas to make the offer (*supr.* 63. 14).

3. Θεσσαλοί. See *supr.* 63. 14. Iolcus was in the extreme south of Thessaly, and suitable for a maritime power.

4. Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισίστρατος, κ.τ.λ. For the chronological difficulties in which Herodotus involves himself, see Appendix II, 'On the chronology of the sixth century.' It is difficult to understand how Peisistratus can have taken the lead in a war which was brought to an end before the death of Periander in 585 B.C., for Peisistratus died in 527, fifty-eight years after Periander.

There is of course no doubt that the Athenians and the Mytilenaeans were at war at the beginning of the sixth century, but Peisistratus had probably as little to do with this war as with the war about Salamis before the archonship of Solon. The Athenian commander on this occasion was Phrynon, who was slain in single combat by Pittacus; see Strabo, p. 599 f. τοῦτο δὲ (sc. τὸ Σίγειον) κατέσχον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, Φρύνωνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην πέμψαντες, Λεσβίων ἐπιδικαζομένων σχεδόν τι τῆς συμπάσης Τρωάδος . . Πιττακὸς δ' ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν λεγομένων, πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύνωνα στρατηγὸν διεπολέμει τέως, διατιθεὶς καὶ πάσχων κακῶς—(Alcaeus now lost his shield)—ὥστερον δ' ἐκ μονομαχίας, προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Φρύνωνος, ἀλιευτικὴν ἀναλαβὼν σκευὴν συνέδραμε (quasi retiarius), καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀμφιβλήστρῳ περιέβαλε, τῇ τριαίνῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ ξιφιδίῳ ἔπειρε καὶ ἀνείλε. The war went on till Periander was chosen by both sides to arbitrate.

7. νόθον, because the son of an Argive mother, Timonassa. The word does not exclude marriage between the parents (though it may

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

ὅς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου·
ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληίου πόλιος ὀρμώμενοι καὶ
10 Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας ἢ οὐ καὶ

mean this), but it implies that the mother was not an Athenian. Yet it is difficult to understand why νόθος in this sense should be applied to a son of Peisistratus, if born in wedlock, for it is never used of Cleisthenes or of any of the descendants of Megacles and Agariste of Sicyon (vi. 130); or of Cimon the son of Miltiades and the Thracian Hegesipyle. The account in Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 17 is confused: ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς, Ἰππίας καὶ Ἰππαρχος, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείας, Ἰοφῶν καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος, ἔ παρωνύμιον ἦν Θέτταλος. ἔγνημεν γὰρ Πεισίστρατος ἐξ Ἀργους ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου θυγάτερα, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Γοργίλος, Τιμόνασσαν, ἣν πρότερον ἔσχευ γυναικα Ἀρχίνος, κ.τ.λ. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἐνέστη φιλία. There seems on the one hand a contrast between the γαμετή and the Argive woman; yet ἔγνημεν is the word used of the union with the Argive, and without a marriage the connection would hardly have led to an alliance with Argos.

9. ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληίου, κ.τ.λ. The Achilleum was the fortress of the Mytilenaeans, Sigeum the Athenian base of operations. Strabo, *l. c.*, says Ἀρχαϊάνακτα γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν λίθων (the stones of Ilium) τὸ Σίγειον

τειχίσαι . . . Τίμαιον δὲ ψεύσασθαι φησιν ὁ Δημήτριος (of Scepsis) ἱστοροῦντα ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου Περιάνδρον ἐπιτειχίσαι τὸ Ἀχίλλειον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, βοηθοῦντα τοῖς περὶ Πιττακόν· ἐπιτειχισθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Μιτυληναίων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῷ Σιγείῳ. οὐ μὲν ἐκ λίθων τοιούτων οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Περιάνδρου . . . Ἀχίλλειον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ἀχιλλέως μνῆμα, κατοικία μικρά.

11. ἀπαιτέοντες. The region was occupied with Lesbian colonies, but nevertheless the Athenians claimed the Troad. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 397. After the revolt of Lesbos in 427 B.C. the Athenians took away the cities in the Troad from the island, Thuc. iii. 50 παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων. Cf. *ib.* iv. 52; Herod. i. 151.

12. οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι . . . τε, 'not acknowledging their claim, but.' λόγῳ by arguments, deduced from the Homeric poems, such as were employed to prove that Salamis belonged to Athens.

13. μᾶλλον . . . ἢ οὐ: cf. iv. 118 ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας vii. 16. γ; Thuc. ii. 62. 3; iii. 36 κτείνειν τοὺς πάντας μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους,

ATHENS. B.C. 505 f.; Ol. 68. 4.

σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο^a
 95 Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἄρπαγας. πολεμεόντων δέ σφεων
 παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ
 Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικώντων
 Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δέ οἱ ὅπλα
 ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ 5
 Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει
 ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ
 ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους
 δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου·
 τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο· κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε, 10
 96 νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι. Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω
 ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀπῖκετο ἐκ
 τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε,
 διαβάλλων τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα
 καὶ ποιέων ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίαιτο ὑπ' ἑωυ- 5
 τῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ· Ἰππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδεις ἀγ-
 γέλους, οὐκ ἑῶντες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων

^a συνεξεπρήξαντο? Krüg., Cob., Van H.

a remarkable instance owing to the absence of any preceding οὐ. The negative appears to be merely redundant.

95. 4. φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, 'escaped by flight,' Aristoph. *Achar.* 177 δει γάρ με φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν Ἀχαρνέας.

7. ἐπιτιθεῖ, 'sends,' cf. iii. 42. ult. γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε. Cf. Strabo, p. 600, λέγει δὲ (Alcaeus) πρὸς τινα κήρυκα, κελεύσας ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀλκαῖος σόος Ἄρει ἔν τε α δ' οὐχὶ τὰν ἀλέκτοριν ἐς Γλαυκωποῦ ἱερὸν ἀνεκρέμασαν Ἀττικοί.

96. 1. Σίγειον, κ.τ.λ. This was

true of the first conquest; but there must have been a second conquest later in the sixth century (about 530 B.C.), when Peisistratus established his son there, perhaps after the conquest of the Lesbians by Polycrates, iii. 39.

4. διαβάλλων . . . πρὸς, 'setting Artaphernes against'; 'maligning them to.'

8. οὐκ ἑῶντες, 'wishing to prevent.' Hippias was quite willing to subjugate Athens to Persia if he could recover his place as tyrant: cf. *supr.* 91. 14.

ATHENS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

τοῖσι φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευέ σφεας, εἰ βου-
 10 λοίατο σοοι εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἰππίην. οὐκὼν
 δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.
 οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι
 Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι.

Νομίζουσι δὴ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς 97
 Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀριστα-
 γόρης ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ
 τῆς Σπάρτης ἀπῆκετο ἐς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν
 5 λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον
 ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα^a ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσι-
 κοῦ, ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε
 χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι
 10 τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ
 οἶκός σφεας εἴη ρύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν
 ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς δὲ ἀνέπεισέ
 σφεας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν
 ἢ ἓνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον
 15 οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθη-

ARISTA-
 GORAS AT
 ATHENS
 (cf. c. 55):
 he obtains
 twenty
 ships.

^a ταῦτά Schwgh.: ταῦτα Libb.

97. We naturally gather from the context that the embassy had been sent not long before the arrival of Aristagoras, i. e. not long before 500 B.C. Artaphernes had been satrap of Sardis since 515 B.C.

5. ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, 'before the public assembly.' Compare the scene at the beginning of the *Acharnians*, where the King's Eye is introduced to the assembly.

7. τοῦ πολέμου. Cf. *supr.* 49.
 15 ἡ μάχη, and note.

8. οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομί-

ζουσι, i. e. have neither the heavy shield nor the long spear of the Greeks; only γέρρα and ἀκόντια. νομίζειν is used in the sense of νομίζειν θεούς, etc. The shield and spear were given to each citizen, at Athens, by the state, and were consequently of uniform size and length.

10. καὶ οἶκός . . . μέγα. σφεας refers to the Milesians, δυναμένους to the Athenians.

15. τρεῖς μυριάδας. Cf. viii. 65.

7. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1132 πολιτῶν

ATHENS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

ναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἰωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὐται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν^a ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι.

20

The
Paeonians
(c. 15) re-
turn to
Europe.

- 98 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἰωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελίῃ ἔσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὦν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίεε, ἀλλ' ὅπως βασιλέα Δαρείον λυπήσειε, ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ αἰχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρόν τε καὶ κώμην ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπρίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. “ ἄνδρες Παῖονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἣν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος,

^a ἀρχαὶ κακῶν Pr (sv): ἀρχέκακοι Cob., Van H.

πλείον ἢ τρισμυρίων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος. The force which went out to Marathon was not more than 10,000 at the utmost—if so many. But the assembly included the Thetes who did not serve as heavy-armed. The poorer citizens were no doubt by far the larger mass of the population. Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* c. 24 speaks of more than 20,000 as subsisting on state pay in one form or another, and Aristoph. *Wasps*, 708, proposes this number for billeting on the subject cities—though, *i. e.*, he puts the whole population at somewhat more than 30,000. The heavy-armed of the ordinary military age at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war were 13,000; the old and young

with the metoeci made up 16,000 more, giving a total of 29,000 *with the metoeci*—not to mention the horse.

19. ἀρχὴ κακῶν. Plut. *De mal. Her.* 24 ἀρχεκάκους πολμήσας προσειπεῖν, ὅτι τοσαύτας πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλευθεροῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. But this was not the view of the Ionians: cf. vi. 3. And though we cannot say that the Persians would not have invaded Greece without this provocation, they were glad to have the excuse. For the expression cf. Thuc. ii. 12 ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.

98. 6. ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, *supr.* c. 15.

MILETUS. B.C. 500; Ol. 70. 1.

καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σῶζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν,
 μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου
 ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες
 15 κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας
 καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδρησκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δέ τινες
 αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ
 οἱ Παῖονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον
 διέβησαν. ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε
 20 Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὥς
 δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παίοσι
 ὅκως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους
 οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χιοί σφεας ἐς Λέσβον
 ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ
 25 περὶ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

Ἀρισταγόρης δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο 99
 εἴκοσι νηυσί, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετριέων πέντε τριήρεας,
 οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐ-
 τῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· οἱ γὰρ
 5 δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἐρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλ-

The
 Eretrians
 send five
 ships to
 aid
 Miletus.

12. παρέχει intrans. If a colon is placed at αὐτῶν the text contains a rather awkward asyndeton. Better to place a comma with Krüger and Bekker, and make αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν the dative after παρέχει.

21. ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον. The Persians having no ships at hand could not do more than send orders to Chios. In what follows we have ὅκως and optative instead of the usual infinitive (i. 77. 12; iv. 200. 3), and ἂν added to the optative, as in a modified final sentence.

24. Δορίσκον. It is difficult to

understand why Doriscus should be chosen. It was not near the Strymon, which was the home of the Paeonians, and it was moreover the place which Darius had selected to occupy with Persian troops.

99. 3. τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν. As a rule the article is not used with χάρις (in the adverbial sense), except with the possessive pronouns, e.g. τὴν σὴν χάριν.

5. τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον. For an account of this war see Duncker, *G. Hist.* ii. 165. 200; Thuc. i. 15 μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν πάλαι ποτὲ

SARDIS. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 3.

κιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι
 ἀντία Ἑρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον· οὗ-
 τοι ὦν ἐπείτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πα-
 ρῆσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδεις.
 αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ,¹⁰
 στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν
 ἑωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄλλον^a
 100 Ἑρμόφαντον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς
 Ἐφεσον πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίης,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους
 ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦ-
 στριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπείτε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον ἀπί- 5
 κοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδεις οὐδενός σφι ἀντιωθέντος, αἰ-

^a ἀστῶν ἄλλον A B C: ἄλλων ἀστῶν, cett.

γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ
 Ἑρετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς
 συμμαχίαν ἑκατέρων διέστη. Strabo,
 p. 448 τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεον ὠμολόγουν
 ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις αὗται, περὶ δὲ
 Δηλάντου διενεχθεῖσαι οὐδ' οὕτω
 τελέως ἐπαύσαντο, ὥστε τῷ πολέμῳ
 κατὰ αὐθάδειαν δρᾶν ἕκαστα, ἀλλὰ
 συνέθεντο, ἐφ' οἷς συστήσονται τὸν
 ἀγῶνα. δημοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ
 Ἀμαρυνθίῳ στήλῃ τις, φράζουσα μὴ
 χρῆσθαι τηλεβύλοις. The Chalci-
 dians were in the end victorious.
 That Samos and Miletus took op-
 posite sides, was probably due to
 trade jealousies. About this time
 (? end of the seventh century) the
 Chalcidic cities of Euboea would
 form a channel through which the
 Greeks of the East could trade with
 the West.

100. 2. ἐν Κορησῷ. Coresus was
 a hill about five miles from Ephesus

on the south bank of the Cayster
 and near the mouth. Down to the
 time of Croesus the Ephesians seem
 to have chiefly lived in the neigh-
 bourhood of this mountain. The
 town at the foot was regarded at a
 later time as part of Ephesus. As
 Ephesus did not share in the revolt,
 we may suppose that the object of
 the expedition was concealed with
 as much care as possible from the
 Ephesian authorities. For this
 reason also the invaders did not
 march by the great road which
 connected Ephesus and Sardis, but
 along the river and the slopes of
 the mountains.

6. Σάρδεις. Cf. i. 80. The city
 lay at the north foot of Mt. Tmolus,
 near the Hermus. The acropolis
 was a jutting spur of the mountain
 which rose above the town, inac-
 cessible on every side but the south.

SARDIS. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 2.

ρεουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ
 ἀκρόπολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφρένης ἔχων δύναμιν
 ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην. τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἐλόντας **101**
 σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι
 αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθι-
 ναι ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς. τουτέων δὴ μίαν
 5 τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὥς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης
 ἐς οἰκίην ἰὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν. καιομένου
 δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνήσαν
 ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὥστε τὰ πε-
 ριέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες^a ἐξήλυ-
 10 σιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ
 τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὅς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ κατα-
 φορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ
 ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον ποταμόν ἐκδιδοί, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν·
 ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροί-
 15 ζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμύ-
 νεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν
 πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῷ προσφερομένους,
 ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Τμῶλον^b καλεό-
 μενον, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

BURNING
 OF SARDIS:
 499 B.C.

^a ἔχοντες Wess.: ἔχοντος, Libb.

^b τὸ Τμῶλον Aldus, Krüg., Kallenberg.

101. 2. πόλιν . . . ἄστυ. There is no distinction here between these words; both are intended to exclude the acropolis.

8. ἐν τῇ πόλει. Stein construes 'the acropolis,' but were there any Lydians in the acropolis? It means, I think, the whole city—acropolis and all; hence τὰ περιέσχατα, but ἄστυ just below is the lower city. Those who were in the lower city

were driven to the open space of the market-place, and the banks of the Pactolus; and here they were finally joined in their resistance by the Persians from the acropolis.

17. τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει, κ.τ.λ. See the next chapter. For a similar anticipation of a fact subsequently related, see *supr.* 37 τὸν ἐστιγμένον.

ASIATIC COAST. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 2.

- 102 Καὶ Σάρδιες μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης· τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι ἱρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθουν τοῖσι 5 Λυδοῖσι. καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἐόντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν. καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστούς, ἐν δὲ δὴ 10 καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους

Defeat of
the Ionians
at Ephesus.

102. 2. Κυβήβης. More commonly Cybele in later authors. She was the great native goddess of the Phrygians and Lydians, whom the Greeks, as usual, identified with more than one of their own deities; sometimes with Rhea, as the mother of the gods; sometimes with Aphrodite; sometimes with Demeter; or again with Artemis as the lady of the wild woods; Strabo, p. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον, καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδὴν κατοικοῦντες Ἑραν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτῃ, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυλήνην καὶ Πεσσινουντίδα καὶ Κυβέλην. Her worship was known at Athens in the time of Pindar and Sophocles: Pind. *Dith. Frag.* σοὶ μὲν κατάρχειν, μάτερ μεγάλα, παρὰ ῥόμβοι κυμβάλων, ἐν δὲ κεχλάδειν κρόταλ', αἰθομένα τε δᾶς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις. Soph. *Phil.* 391 ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι γὰ, μάτερ αὐτοῦ Διός, ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὐχρυσον νέμεις.

τὸ σκηπτόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. The temple of Branchidae was burnt vi. 19; the temples in Naxos vi. 96; and those at Eretria, ἀποτινύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, vi. 101; also the temple at Abae, viii. 33; and at Athens, viii. 53. Cf. viii. 8. 13 πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐλθόντες ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τε ἄλσέα καὶ τὰ ἱρά. Yet the Persians respected Delos (vi. 97), and had evidently considerable feeling about Delphi, ix. 42. 13.

4. νομοὺς ἔχοντες means apparently no more than 'stationed in.' Artaphernes was a satrap; but the other generals mentioned in the suppression of the revolt, Daurises, Hymaees and Otanes, were not. See Appendix I.

11. στεφανηφόρους ἀγῶνας. The words no doubt refer to victories in the great games, Olympia, Pythia, etc., in which the prize was a crown, and nothing more: cf. viii. 26. 7. Herodotus is always careful to record distinctions of this kind: cf. *supr.* 47. Simonides of Ceos composed Epinicians no less than Pindar.

ASIATIC COAST. B.C. 499; Ol. 70. 2.

τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου
πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην,
ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις.

Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι 103
μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου^a
σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν
τιμωρήσειν^b σφι· Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης
5 στερηθέντες, οὕτω γάρ σφι^c ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δα-
ρεῖον, οὐδὲν δὴ ἦσσαν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευά-
ζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Βυζάντιόν τε
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις πάσας τὰς ταύτῃ ὑπ' ἐωυτοῖσι
ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Κα-
10 ρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι·
καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμα-
χέειν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις, τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη

Spread of
the revolt.
Byzantium,
Caria.

^a ἐπικαλεομένου, J. Gronovius: ἐπικαλεομένους Libb.

^b ἔτι τιμωρήσειν St.

^c σφίσι Libb. corr. St.

103. 7. Βυζάντιον. Byzantium was of course a Dorian colony—in no way connected with Ionia. But it had recently shown that it would be willing to be rid of Persian rule; c. 26. At what time Byzantium first fell into the power of Persia is not clear; it must have been before the expedition of Darius to Scythia, for Ariston of Byzantium is one of the tyrants who accompanied him to the Danube (515 B.C.) iv. 138. Hellespont is here used in the same wider sense as *supr.* c. 1.

8. ὑπ' ἐωυτοῖσι, i. e. they did not leave them free choice, but compelled them to revolt.

9. ἐκπλώσαντες ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. In this curious construction ἐκπλ. ἔξω seem to be regarded

as one word = ἐκλιπεῖν πλέοντες. So Krüger: see *infra* 104. 9 ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ, vii. 58 ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων.

11. τὴν Καῦνον. The accusative is no doubt due to a change in construction. We expect προσεκτήσαντο, but as Caunus came in willingly, the sentence ends differently, and the grammar is in disorder. The Caunians were not Greeks at all: cf. i. 172 οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοί εἶσι, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. In language they resembled the Carians, but their customs were neither like the Carians, nor any others. They fought bravely for their freedom when attacked by Harpagus, i. 176. 14.

CYPRUS. B. C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

Cyprus
joins the
revolt,
498 B. C.

104 προσεγένετο. Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθελονταί σφι πάντες προσε-
 γέγοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων· ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι
 ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἦν Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σα-
 λαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ
 Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. οὗτος ὦνῆρ πολλάκις 5
 μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίσταςθαι
 ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ, ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπύθετο
 ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνῆγε· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε
 τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτά μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ
 τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἐωντοῦ στασιώ- 10
 τησι ἀπεκλήρισε τῶν πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς
 τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους, Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σα-
 λαμῖνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίσταςθαι.
 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλο-
 μένους οἱ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

15

104. Cyprus had come into the Persian Empire along with the subjugation of Phoenicia and Egypt, of which Amasis had made it a dependency, iii. 91: see *infr.* 110. Amathus lay on the south coast of the island. Of the Kings of Salamis Herodotus gives us the following names:—

1. Euclthon.

2. Siromus.

3. Chersis.

Gorgus. Onesilus. Philaon (viii. 11).

As Euclthon is mentioned in iv. 162, in connection with Arcesilaus III of Cyrene, whose date is *circa* 530 B. C., we should expect his grandson at the most, certainly not his great-grandson, to be on the throne

in 498 B. C. We also find Siromus (Hiram) as the name of a king of Tyre 551–532 B. C., and the conjecture has been made that this king of Tyre, or some relation of the same name, is for some reason included in the list of the kings of Salamis. The chronology of the kings of Soli presents exactly the opposite difficulty: see *infr.* 113. 13.

9. ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ. Cf. c. 103.

12. ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους. Herodotus uses the title ‘Medes’ to express the Persian Empire; cf. vii. 136, where Xerxes is addressed as ‘King of the Medes.’ The Persians had borrowed the dress and armature of the Medes, i. 135; vii. 62; vi. 112.

13. ἀνέπειθε, ‘urged’; ἀνέπεισε, ‘persuaded.’

SUSA. B.C. 497; Ol. 70. 4.

Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλεί 105
 δὲ Δαρείῳ ὥς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδισ ἀλούσας ἐμπρησθῆναι Darius in-
 ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι formed of
 τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλή- the revolt.
 5 σιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὥς ἐπύ-
 θετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰ-
 δότα ὥς οὕτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐξονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέ-
 σθαι οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰ-
 τῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἰστὸν ἄνω
 10 πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἥερα βάλλοντα
 εἰπεῖν “ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι,”
 εἶπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δειί-
 πνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρίς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “δέσπο-
 τα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.” προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα 106
 εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὄψιν Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, [τὸν ὁ His con-
 Δαρεῖος κατεῖχε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν^a,] “πυνθάνομαι versation
 Ἰστιαῖε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σόν, τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας, with
 5 νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι Histiaeus
 ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπείρου ἐπαγαγών, καὶ Ἰωνας σὺν αὐ- who is sent
 τοῖσι τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους to the coast.
 ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεςθαι, Σαρδίῳ με ἀπεστέ-

^a τὸν—πολλόν secl. St.

105. 4. τῆς συλλογῆς, ‘the coalition,’ i. e. the combination of Athenians and Ionians. ὥστε is used more widely in Herodotus than in Attic: cf. *supr.* 92 a. 7 τοῦτο ὥστε: vi. 5. 11 πείθειν ὥστε.

8. μετὰ δέ, κ.τ.λ. The action was intended, no doubt, to attract the attention of the deity, who was lord of the sky. Cf. i. 131 τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία

καλέοντες, of the Persians.

11. ἐκγενέσθαι. The infinitive expresses a wish; supply δός or the like. ‘May I succeed in.’

13. ἐς τρίς, ‘non semel, sed non plus quam ter,’ Schwgh.

14. μέμνεο, ‘pro μέμνησο, quasi a praet. μέμνημαι novum verbum μέμνομαι fuisset formatum.’ Schwgh.

106. 3. χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν, i. e. *circa* 515-497.

SUSA. B.C. 497; Ol. 70. 4.

ρησέ^a. νῦν ὦν κῶς τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; κῶς δὲ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπρήχθη; ¹⁰ ὄρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης σεαυτὸν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰστιαῖος “ βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγξαις ἔπος, ἐμὲ βουλευσάμενος πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἐμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχέσειν; τί δ’ ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποίεοιμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἐών; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ¹⁵ ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεῦμαι. ἀλλ’ εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἐωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον πεποιηκέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅπως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος ²⁰ νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ’ ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιέουσι καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὼν ἀκήκοας ὦ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶον πρῆγμα ἐργάσαιο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. Ἰῶνες γὰρ οἴκασιν ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφί γενομένου ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἡμερον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ’ ²⁵ ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν ὦν ὥς τάχος ἄπες με πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κεῖνά τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθετον παραδῶ. ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ³⁰

^a ἀπεστέρηκε γ (sv), Cob., Van H., Kall.

11. ἐξ ὑστέρης. Cf. ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ἐξ ἴσου, ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης, ἐκ νέης, *infr.* 116. 2.

ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς, ‘have to blame yourself,’ i. e. get yourself into trouble, if it should be proved the revolt was due to him.

14. ἀνασχέσειν, ‘issue, arise from.’

16. πρὸς σέο, with ἀξιεῦμαι.

18. ἐπ’ ἐωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον. Cf.

supr. 73. 15.

20. ὅπως = ὅτι : iii. 116. 5 πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὅπως μονόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται.

23. ἀνάσπαστον, *supr.* 12, vi. 32 of removing persons from their home.

26. ἂν . . . ὑπεκίνησε, ‘would have stirred, in the least.’ Arist. *Frogs*, 644 σκόπει νῦν ἦν μ’ ὑποκινήσαντ’ ἴδης (flinching).

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι^a
 τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι
 Σαρδὼ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφόρον ποιήσω." Ἰστι- 107
 αῖος μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο
 καί μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπι-
 τελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ 108
 βασιλέα ἀνήιε καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας
 Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ
 Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ
 5 χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε. πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνη-
 σίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίου ἐξαγγέλλεται νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν
 ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν προσδόκιμον
 ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος
 κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλούμενός σφεας,
 10 Ἰῶνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἤκον πολλῷ
 στόλῳ. Ἰωνές τε δὴ παρήσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ

CYPRUS.
Prepara-
tions for
battle.^a ἐκδύσεσθαι Krüg., Cob., alii.

31. ἐκδύσασθαι. Cobet would read ἐκδύσεσθαι with Naber and Krüger, (1) because the aorist is indefensible; (2) because ἐκδύσασθαι is barbarous, δύναι being the classical form. Cf. vi. 2. 5 note. But see Goodwin, Syntax § 136 for the aorist. The middle form of ἀποδ. occurs in Plato and Lysias. Schwgh. suggests that κιθῶν here is = θώρηξ, comparing vii. 61 κιθῶνες χειριδωτοὶ λεπίδος σιδηρέης, ὅψιν ἰχθυοειδέος.

33. νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. Cf. i. 170. 8 where Sardinia is described as νήσων ἀπασέων μεγίστην. The seven largest islands were Sardinia, Sicily, Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, Corsica, Lesbos (Strabo, p. 654); some

authorities placed Sicily first, others Sardinia; as a fact Sardinia is slightly the larger: see Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* sub voce. The island was regarded as the most desirable object of colonising energy; cf. i. l. c.; *infra*. 124. 8. Herodotus seems to have heard nothing of the bad climate, which was well known to later writers.

108. 1. ἐν ᾧ, i.e. between 499 B.C. and 497 B.C. Histiaeus cannot have reached the coast before the departure of Aristagoras from Miletus, which occurred shortly before his death in 497 B.C.

11. καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κ.τ.λ. The Phoenicians conveyed the soldiers

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Σαλαμίνα περὶ τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον
 109 τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. τούτου
 δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου
 συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, “ἄνδρες
 Ἴωνες, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὁκοτέ-
 ροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεσθαι, ἢ Πέρσῃσι ἢ Φοίνιξι. 5
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπει-
 ρᾶσθαι, ὥρῃ ἂν εἴῃ ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσ-
 σεσθαι περὶ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμε-
 τέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνιευμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μάλ-
 λον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποίειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, 10
 ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλησθε, ὅκως τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας
 ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνίῃ καὶ ἢ Κύπρῳ ἐλευθέρῃ.” εἶπαν
 Ἴωνες πρὸς ταῦτα “ἡμέας δὲ ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν
 Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοι-
 σι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ περὶ Πέρσῃσι προσφε- 15
 ρώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ’ οὗ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πει-
 ρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεόν ἐστι ἀναμνη-

from Cilicia to Cyprus, and then prepared for action at sea. The army was apparently landed on the north coast of the island; the ships then sailed round the N.E. promontory, Cape St. Andrea, to join it off Salamis, to which the Persians marched across the island. The ‘Keys’ appear to have been strictly the name of two small islands off the promontory; so Strabo, p. 682. Pliny calls the promontory Dinaretum; Ptolemy ‘the ox-tail.’ See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* Cleides.

109. 2. οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, *infr.* 110. 3 οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων. The princes of Cyprus differed from

the thorough-going Greek ‘tyrant’ in the fact that they were hereditary monarchs; but Herodotus is not precise in these matters: in vii. 157 Gelo is a τύραννος, in *ib.* 161 he is addressed as βασιλεὺς Συρηκοσίων. So Telys at Sybaris, *supr.* 44. 2. note.

7. ὥρῃ = καιρός, viii. 144. 29 πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκείνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην.

13. τὸ κοινόν is no doubt the representative body of the Ionians assembled at the Panionion; cf.

108. 10 Ἴωνες βουλευσάμενοι.

16. ἐπ’ οὗ, sc. ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν.

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

σθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων,
 γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς.” Ἴωνες μὲν τούτοισι ἀμεί- 110
 ψαντο· μετὰ δὲ ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Σαλαμινίων
 τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσαν οἱ βασιλέες τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς
 μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας
 5 ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέξαν-
 τες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσαν Πέρσῃσι. Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ
 στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντῆς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσι-
 λος. ἤλαυνε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς 111
 ὀπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνή-
 σιλος, ἦν γάρ οἱ ὑπασπιστῆς γένος μὲν Κάρ τὰ δὲ
 πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε
 5 πρὸς τοῦτον “πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἱστάμε-
 νον ὀρθόν καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς
 τὸν ἂν προσενειχθῇ. σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος εἶπε αὐτίκα

Artybius
and his
horse.

110. The most important cities in Cyprus were Salamis, Citium, Amathus, Curium, Marium, Soli, Lapethus, Ceryneia, and Paphos. Of these Salamis and Soli were supposed to be closely connected with Athens; Salamis being founded by Teucer, the half-brother of Ajax, whose descendants were kings of the city (the Teucridae), and Soli being founded by Phalerus and Acamas (Strabo, 683), and refounded under the auspices of Solon (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 26). Curium was a colony of Argos; *infr.* 113. Amathus was the last home of the aborigines, and more firmly attached than any other city to Persia. See Scylax, 103, Steph. B. Ἀμαθοῦς, Theopomp. *frag.*

111. The plain of the Salaminians is the large plain which occupies

the centre of the island from east to west, traversed by the river Pedaius.

111. For the bravery of the Carians, see *infr.* 118 f.

5. *πυνθάνομαι*. This conversation of Artybius and his shield-bearer is an extreme instance of the habit of throwing the narrative into the dramatic form, which is so common with Herodotus. We may compare with it the conversation of Darius and Oebares, iii. 85. Other conversations in this book which are probably due to the dramatic genius of Herodotus are that of Cleomenes and Aristagoras; of the Ionians and the Cyprians; of Darius and Histiaeus; and the scene at the court of Amyntas of Macedonia.

6. *πρὸς τόν* = *τοῦτον πρὸς τόν*.

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4. ¹

ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πληῆσαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε
 αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ “ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀμφότερα ¹⁰
 καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν σὺ ἐπιτάσῃς.
 ὥς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκέει εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι
 προσφερέστερον,^a φράσω. βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν
 χρεὸν εἶναι φημὶ βασιλεί τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρε-
 σθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλῃς ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι ¹⁵
 γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ
 ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ· ἡμέας δὲ
 τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέροισί τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ
 πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῇς· ἐγὼ
 γάρ τοι ὑποδέκομαι μή μιν ἀνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στή- ²⁰
 112 σεσθαι ἐναντίον.” ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταυτίκα συνε-
 μισγε τὰ στρατόπεδα περὶ καὶ νηυσί. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν
 Ἰῶνες ἄκροι γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερεβάλλοντο
 τοὺς Φοίνικας, καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἠρίστευσαν· περὶ
 δέ, ὥς συνῆλθε ^b τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα ^c ἐμάχον- ⁵
 το. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε ἐγίνετο.
 ὥς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο τῷ
 ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον·
 ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησί- ¹⁰

Battle of
 SALAMIS:
 treachery
 and defeat
 of the
 Cyprians.

^a προσφερέστερον s, Schäf.

^b συνῆλθον r (sv) Krüg., Van H.

^c συμπεσόντες St.

13. προσφερέστερον. Stein retains this reading, translating ‘more serviceable to.’ But might not the word mean, ‘more suitable to,’ ‘in accordance with’?

16. ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου, κ.τ.λ. Stein quotes Virg. *Aen.* x. 829 Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem, Aeneae magni dextra cadis.

112. 2. νηυσὶ μὲν goes with ὑπερεβάλλοντο.

5. συνῆλθε . . . ἐμάχοντο. The variation may mark the difference between the mass of the armies, and the men fighting separately; but cf. 113. 8.

8. κατὰ τά = κατὰ ταῦτα τά.

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

λου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κὰρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπα-
 ράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας. Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ 113
 στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ
 ταύτῃ· μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ τύ-
 ραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου προδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν
 5 περὶ ἐωυτὸν οὐ σμικρὴν· οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται
 εἶναι Ἀργείων ἀποικοὶ· προδόντων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων
 αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα τῶντὸ
 τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίηε^a. γινομένων δὲ τούτων κατυ-
 πέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμμένον
 10 δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι τε ἔπесον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ
 Ὀνήσιλός τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὃς περ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν
 ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φι-
 λοκύπρου, Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθη-

^a ἐποίηον Pr (sv).

11. δρεπάνῳ. The scythe formed part of the armour of the Carians; vii. 93. 5.

113. 5. οἱ δὲ Κουριέες, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Strabo, 683. Stephanus Byz. on the other hand speaks of the city as named after Cureus the son of Cinyras, which would point to a Phoenician or Oriental origin. At the time of the decline of Tyre, and perhaps owing to the Philhellenic policy of Amasis of Egypt, the Greeks had far greater power in Cyprus than afterwards—and some cities of Phoenician origin may have then fallen into Greek hands.

7. πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα. War-chariots are used in Homer, but this is the only trace of them in historical times in Greece. We hear of sixty chariots in a *procession* at Eretria (Strabo, p. 448), but were

these war-chariots? Themistocles receives as a present the finest chariot (ὄχος) at Sparta (Herod. viii. 124. 11), where war-chariots were never in use. Xenophon in the *Cyropaedeia* has much to say about war-chariots, and in the oracle, Xerxes comes Συρηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων (vii. 140. 10). In Xen. *Anab.* i. 7. 10 scythe-chariots are mentioned.

13. τὸν Σόλων, κ.τ.λ. The story is told in Plut. *Sol.* 26. On his return from Egypt, where he had visited Amasis, Solon arrived at Cyprus and was hospitably entertained by Philocyprus, ὃς εἶχεν οὐ μεγάλην πόλιν ὠκισμένην ὑπὸ Δημοφῶντος (? Acamas, see 110) τοῦ Θησέως περὶ τὸν Κλάριον ποταμὸν ἐν χωρίοις ὀχυροῖς μὲν ἄλλως δὲ δυσχερέσι καὶ φαύλοις κειμένην. On

CYPRUS. B.C. 498-497 : Ol. 70. 3, 4.

- 114 *ναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων
μάλιστα. Ὀνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι, ὅτι σφέας
ἐπολιόρκησε, ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς
Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων.
κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη εἰούσης κοίλης,
ἔσμους μελισσέων ἐσδὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε.⁵
τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐ-
τῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν
κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλῳ δὲ θύειν ὡς ἥρωι ἀνὰ
πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ σφι ποιεῦσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι.*
- 115 *Ἀμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίουν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ·
Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθον
τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις
τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμί-*

Solon's advice he removed the city to a more commodious site in the plain, and set it out on a larger scale. Solon commemorated his visit in some elegiac lines. But if this occurred in 590-580 B.C., is it likely that the son of Philocyprus would be on the throne in 497 B.C.? This, like many facts in Herodotus, points to a later date for Solon's visit to Egypt, etc. See Appendix 11.

114. We may perhaps compare with this chapter the story of the hero Cleomedes of Astypalaea which is told by Paus. vi. 9. 5 ff. Cleomedes killed his opponent Iccus in the boxing match (72nd Olymp. = 492 B.C.), for which he was deprived of his prize. In his rage he went mad, and returning to Astypalaea, he pulled down a pillar which supported the roof in a room where were a number of boys (about sixty).

He then took refuge in a chest in the temple of Athena, and the Astypalaeans, being unable to open the chest, broke it, but found no trace of Cleomedes dead or alive. On consulting the oracle at Delphi, they received the answer: ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυपालαιεύς, δν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ', ἅτε μηκέτι θνητὸν εἶντα. In this case, as in that of Onesilus, a man is worshipped as a hero, though he has done great harm to those who worship him. For the worship of heroes, see Appendix 12.

8. θύειν ὡς ἥρωι : ἐναγίζειν would be more strictly correct. Cf. ii. 44. 22 καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι. The offering to the hero was burnt; that to the god was eaten: see Paus. ii. 10. 1.

HELLESPONT. B.C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

5 νος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τοὺς Σα-
λαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἰῶνες ταῦ-
τα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων
ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι, τὴν
πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἶλον οἱ
10 Πέρσαι.

Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτῖς 116
ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου Suppres-
θυγατέρα καὶ Ὑμαίης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἄλλοι Πέρσαι sion of the
στρατηγοί, ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπι- revolt
5 διώξαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων καὶ in the
ἐσαράξαντές σφεας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὥς ἐπεκρά- Hellespont.
τησαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον.
Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ 117
πόλεις εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἀβυδὸν τε καὶ Περ-
κώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν^a ἐπ'
ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη^b αἶρεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ
5 ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη τοὺς Κάρας τῶντὸ
Ἰωσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέψας

^a μὲν μίαν? St. ^b ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστην Nitzsch, Madv.: ἡμέρης ἐκάστης Pr (sv).

115. 9. πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες. For πέριξ, see *supr.* c. 87. 11; and for the situation of Soli, which made the mine more feasible, the note on c. 113. 13.

116. 2. Δαυρίσης. Cf. *supr.* c. 102.

7. ἐπιδιελόμενοι, 'having divided among themselves.' The arrangement by which Daurises went to the Hellespont and to Caria, where he joined Amorges and Sisamaces (*infr.* 121), Hymaees to the Propontis, and Otanes to Ionia and Aeolis, appears

to have been merely temporary. We cannot conclude from it that Daurises and Otanes were satraps in the ordinary sense of the word. In fact Oebares and Artaphernes were the satraps at this time: *supr.* 25; vi. 33. 18. See Appendix 1.

117. 3. ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, 'on each day': *supr.* c. 53. 8. The words imply that he not only took each town on one day, but that the days were successive, 'one a day': so in ii. 168. 10, iv. 112. 4.

CARIA. B.C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

The Per-
sians in
Caria: at
first vic-
torious,
they are
finally
defeated.

- 118 *Καρίην. καί κως ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρό-
τερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶ-
ρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε στήλας καλεόμενας καὶ
ποταμὸν Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς
τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοί. συλληχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν 5
ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαι ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε
δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μανσώλου ἀνδρὸς
Κινδυέος, ὃς τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε
θυγατέρα· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε διαβάντας
τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχοντας 10
τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ^a ἔχοντες ὀπίσω
φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γι-
νοίατο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ*

^a μήτε? St.

118. 4. This Carian Marsyas must be distinguished from the Phrygian river of the same name, vii. 26, which had its sources in the market-place of Celaenae. Both rivers flow into the Maeander, the Carian nearly opposite to Tralles; the Phrygian a little below Celaenae. See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* The modern name of this river is Tshina. The 'White Pillars' appears to have been the meeting place of the Carian 'community.' Strabo, p. 660 ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως (Stratonicea) τὸ τοῦ χρυσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς δὲ συνίασι θύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν πάντων. (The town of Stratonicea was founded by the Macedonians on the site of Idrias.)

6. ἀρίστη γε: 'γε belongs to δοκέουσα ἐμοί = ἐμοιγε δοκέουσα'; Stein.

7. The Mausôlus here mentioned was no doubt an ancestor of the king of Halicarnassus, 377-353 B.C., whose memory has been rendered famous by the tomb which his widow erected. This Mausôlus had a brother Pixôdarus; Strabo, 656. The termination -olus is Carian; cf. Ibanolis, *supr.* 37.

8. Syennesis was the title of the kings of Cilicia: in i. 74 we hear of a Syennesis who was reigning in the early part of the sixth century B.C. The Syennesis here mentioned is probably the same who in vii. 98 is enumerated among the commanders of the fleet: Syennesis, the son of Oromedon. A third Syennesis was contemporary with Cyrus the younger: Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 21, etc.; *Hell.* iii. 1. 1.

CARIA. B.C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

ἐνίκα ἢ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατὰ νότου γίνε-
 15 σθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ^a ἦν φυγὴ
 τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς
 οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες. μετὰ 119
 δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περ-
 σέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλόν τε
 τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν
 5 καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν, τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πλη-
 θος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχιλίους,
 Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐ-
 τῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα^b ἐς Διὸς στρατίου
 ἱρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων· μῦνοι δὲ
 10 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ Διὶ στρατίῳ θυσίας
 ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὧν οὔτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύ-
 οντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα ἢ παραδόντες σφέας αὐ-
 τοὺς Πέρσησι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην
 ἄμεινον πρήξουσι. βουλευομένοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα πα- 120
 ραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμ-

^a λογιζόμενοι (vel simile aliquid) δηλαδὴ St.^b λάβρανδα A B: λάβρανδα C: λάβρυνδα Pr (sv).

119. 3. ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ.
 The Carians marched down the
 river from Idrias, but not so far as
 the Maeander. The battle probably
 took place on the left bank of the
 river below Alabanda. After their
 defeat, they retired into the district
 of Mylasa. Labraunda was a village
 about sixty stades from Mylasa, and
 connected with it by a sacra via,
 along which processions went from
 the town to the temple: see Strabo,
 p. 659. (In Carian λάβρυνς meant
 'axe,' and Zeus Labraundeus is Zeus
 of the battle-axe?) Strabo dis-

tinguishes three temples of Zeus:
 one at Mylasa, of Osogo; a second
 of Zeus Labrandenus, or Zeus Stra-
 tius, at Labraunda. These two tem-
 ples were confined to Carians. The
 third temple, also at Mylasa, was that
 of Carian Zeus, common to all the
 Carians, Mysians and Lydians: cf.
supr. 37. 2, i. 171. 27. Distinct from
 these temples in the district of My-
 lasa was the temple of Zeus Chry-
 saoreus (c. 118. 4 note) though this
 may have been the same deity as
 Zeus Stratius and Labrandenus.

120. 2. Μιλήσιοι. No attempt

CARIA. B.C. 498; Ol. 70. 3.

μαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβου-
λεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρ-
τέοντο. καὶ ἐπιοῦσί τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι συμβάλλουσι, καὶ 5
μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἢ πρότερον ἐσσώθησαν· πεσόν-
των δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγη-
121 σαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνε-
μαχέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι
ὀρμέεται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν
τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ^a ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι
νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐ- 5
τῶν, Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισαμάκης· σὺν
δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου

^a ἐν Πηδάσῳ H Stephanus: ἐν πιδάσῳ A B: ἐμπιδασῳ C: ἐπὶ δασῳ P:
ἐπὶ λάσοισιν r: ἐπὶ Μυλασοῖσι Wess.

had as yet been made by the Persians on Miletus, which was apparently left till the more outlying districts had been subdued. The Persians in this case followed up their victory and pursued the Carians to Mylasa, between which and Alabanda this second battle must have taken place.

6. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν. 'In the nom. ἔπεσον οἱ πάντες πολλοί,' Krüger, which is surely better than Stein's suggestion that τῶν πάντων is partitive.

121. 1. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβον. (1) We may take μετὰ δὲ adverbially, and translate the rest 'they made good this disaster': cf. viii. 109. 9 ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέραν κακότητα, or (2) connect τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα with μετὰ and translate ἀνέλαβον 'recovered themselves.' The words μετὰ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο are so connected

in iv. 160. 15. The rhythm of the sentence is in favour of (2), but there is no other example of ἀναλαμβάνειν intransitive in Herod. Krüger refers to Stallbaum on Plato *Rep.* 467 B, where ἀναλαβεῖν is taken intransitively.

4. τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν. Unfortunately the site of Pedasum or Pedasa is uncertain. Strabo, p. 611 says ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασέων τὰ Πήδασα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομασθέντα ἦν πόλις καὶ ἡ νῦν χώρα Πηδασὶς λέγεται: and again Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίχνην ἔστιν. On the other hand, part of the territory of the Milesians is given to the Carians of Pedasum (vi. 20), which implies that it was not far from that city. Perhaps Pedasa and Pedasum were distinct places.

7. Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. The names remind us of the monarchs of Lydia:

PROPONTIS. B.C. 498-497; Ol. 70. 3, 4.

τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυ-
λασσεύς.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν· 122
Ἵρμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐς
Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὴν
Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην·^a ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν,
5 ὥς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπέναι Δαυρίσῃν
καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προπον-
τίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ εἶλε
μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε
δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν.
10 αὐτὸς τε Ἵρμαίης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ
ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἄρτα· 123
φρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος
στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα
Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν Κλαζομενὰς
5 αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

Suppres-
sion of the
revolt
in the
Propontis;
&c.

Ἀλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ ὥς διέδεξε 124

^a Nonne τῆς Μυσίης? Kall.

Candaules, 'whom the Greeks call Myrsilus,' i. 7, and Gyges. It is possible he was a Carian of Pedasum who took the Persian side, and that it was owing to his assistance that the inhabitants of Pedasum were rewarded with part of the Milesian land.

122. 4. For Cios, see Strabo, p. 564. It was the place where Hylas disappeared from the Argonauts, and the city was founded by Cios on his return from Colchis: καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι ἑορτὴ τις ἄγεται παρὰ τοῖς Προυσι-
εῦσιν (the later name of Cios) καὶ ὀρειβασία θιασευόντων καὶ καλούν-
των Ὑλαν, ὥς ἂν κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν

ἐκείνου πεποιημένων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ὕλας ἔξοδον. Strabo fixes the boundaries of Mysia at the river Aesepus (west) and the Lake Ascania (east).

8. Αἰολέας, κ.τ.λ. Cf. i. 151, where the cities on Ida are treated as a separate section of the Aeolians; and *supr.* c. 94. 11. For the Gergithes, see vii. 43. 13. Strabo, 589: ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψακηνῇ τόπος εὐάμπελος Γεργίθιον· ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις Γέργιθα, ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κυμαίᾳ Γεργίθων· ἦν γὰρ καὶ πόλις πληθυντικῶς καὶ θηλυκῶς λεγομένη αἱ Γέργιθες . . . καὶ νῦν ἔτι δείκνυται τόπος ἐν τῇ Κυμαίᾳ Γεργίθιον πρὸς Λαρίσσην.

124. 1. ὥς διέδεξε. Cf. i. 73. 18

MILETUS. B.C. 497 f.; Ol. 70. 4.

Arista-
goras in
alarm
retires to
Myrcinus,
where he
is slain.

- Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς^a ταρα-
ξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα
δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε ὀρέων ταῦτα· πρὸς δέ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνα-
τα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι· πρὸς ταῦτα 5
δὴ ὦν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, λέγων
ὥς ἄμεινον σφίσι εἶη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἣν
ἄρα ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδῶν
ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι^b ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκι-
νον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν, τὴν Ἰστιαῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου 10
125 δωρεὴν λαβών. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. Ἐκα-
ταίου μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ,
τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν
Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην
ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης 5
126 ὀρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. ταῦτα μὲν
δὴ Ἐκαταῖος συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πλείστη^c
ἡ γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μί-
λητον ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρῃ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ,

^a ὃς suspect. hab. Krüg., Van H. ^b ἄγῃ Dobr., cf. vi. 35. 17. ^c πλείστη ἡ St.

ἦν γάρ, ὥς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος.
διέδεξε is probably impersonal: 'as
was clear.' Schwgh. quotes ii. 134.
16 ὥς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἤκιστα, iii.
82. 16.

2. Krüger would omit ὃς to avoid
the anacoluthon, but in any case the
sentence is not well constructed.
The statement is that Aristagoras
contemplated flight; and for this two
reasons are given: (1) his cowardice:
(2) his feeling that the power of
Darius was too much for him.

3. ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα με-
γάλα, 'having stirred up great
confusion.'

8. εἴτε with ἐβουλεύετο.

9. Μύρκινον. Cf. *supr.* c. 11.

125. 1. Ἐκαταίου. See *supr.* c.
36.

3. ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, as in 118. 9.
στέλλειν is intransitive.

6. Teos lay to the south-west of
Miletus, of which city it was a colony
and a dependency. In the tribute
lists it is treated as a part of Miletus.

126. 2. αὐτῷ πλείστη ἡ γνώμη ἦν.
An exact parallel does not seem to
occur in Herodotus, who, however,
has ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί i.
120. 19; and ταύτῃ καὶ μάλλον τῇ
γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι vii. 220. 5.

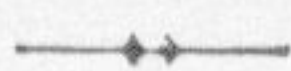
THRACE. B.C. 497; Ol. 70. 4.

5 αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς
τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη· ἐκ δὲ
ταύτης ὀρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων αὐτός τε ὁ
Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμε-
νος καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

7. ἀπόλλυται. The Thracians offered to come out on terms, and on receiving permission, they came out and fell upon Aristagoras and his army, who were not prepared for an attack. No details are known. The Thracians were the Edonians: the town may have been Ennea Hodoi. The date is fixed by

Thucydides iv. 102, who puts sixty years between this attempt of Aristagoras and the colonisation by Hagnon. The colony at Amphipolis is placed in 437 B.C. (Diod.), so that the death of Aristagoras would fall in 497 B.C. See Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*, sub anno 437.

APPENDIX



EXCURSUS I.

V. 25.

SATRAPS AND GENERALS.

(1) In the enumeration of the satrapies of the Persian empire, given in iii. 90, Herodotus assigns the territory in Asia west of the Halys with the Cappadocians to three satrapies, of which

The first includes the Ionians, Magnesians in Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyae, and Pamphylians;

The second includes the Mysians, the Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians;

The third includes the Hellespontines in Asia, the Phrygians, Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Syrians (i. e. Cappadocians, who are beyond, i. e. eastward, of the Halys);

and in iii. 127 these three satrapies are spoken of as the Ionic, Lydian, and Phrygian respectively. But though these three satrapies were thus clearly distinguished in description, it is difficult to recognise the distinction in the events of history.

(a) The residences of the second and third were Sardis, and Dascyleum, on the shore of the Propontis; but the residence of the first is unknown. (b) In iii. 120 we are told that Oroetes was satrap of Sardis, in *ib.* 122 he is at Magnesia (in the Ionian satrapy), and in 126 he slays Mitrobates, the satrap of Dascyleum, after which, in c. 127, he appears in possession of the three satrapies. But we never hear that he removed any one from the Ionian satrapy, and indeed he seems to have had control

of the Ionian satrapy from the first, or why should Mitrobates reproach him with the independence of Samos—an Ionian island (iii. 126)? (c) In the Peloponnesian war we hear of two principal satraps only: Pharnabazus of Dascyleum and Tissaphernes of Sardis, 'whom Darius the son of Artaxerxes had appointed to be general of the forces on the coast of Asia.' Thuc. viii. 5.

(2) On the other hand in v. 102 Herodotus informs us that the generals who had districts (*νομοί*) within (i. e. west of) the Halys, united their forces and marched to the relief of Sardis. These generals are three in number, Otanes, Hymaees, and Daurises. In this case we seem once more to be carried back to a triple division of the territory west of the Halys. But it is improbable that these generals—whatever is meant by the three *νομοί*—were satraps. In the first place Artaphernes, who is *ὑπαρχος Σαρδίων*, is being besieged in Sardis at the time when the three generals march to his assistance, and Otanes, one of the three generals, had been nominated captain of the forces on the sea-board at the time when Artaphernes was made satrap of Sardis (v. 25). In the second place the three generals after pursuing the Greeks to Ephesus and defeating them there, divide the revolted cities among them. Daurises takes the Hellespont, which he leaves subsequently for Caria, where he is slain; Hymaees takes the Propontis, and on hearing that Daurises had gone to Caria, moves to the Hellespont, and dies in the Troad (v. 122). Otanes joins Artaphernes in attacking the cities of Ionia and Aeolis (v. 123). This 'division' would not have taken place if Daurises and Hymaees had had definite districts already assigned to them as satraps; on the contrary, when making the division, they were evidently about to move into districts different from those already allotted to them. Hence Daurises cannot be the satrap of Phrygia as is sometimes supposed¹. It is not so clear that Otanes is not satrap of Ionia, but it may be said (1) that he is never entitled *ὑπαρχος*, which is the usual term for satrap; (2) that he has a special title as 'general

¹ In vi. 33 Oebares, the son of Megabazus, is satrap at Dascyleum, and makes terms with the Cyzicenes in that capacity.

of the forces on the seacoast¹, (3) that Artaphernes settles the tribute of the Ionians.

Krumbholtz, *De Asiae Minoris Satrapis Persicis* (p. 23), is of opinion that Otanes was satrap of Phrygia. For this there is little to be said, for why did he not go to suppress the mutiny in what, on this hypothesis, was his own satrapy? After the conquest of Cyme and Clazomenae in concert with Artaphernes, he disappears from view.

So far therefore as our evidence goes, we cannot point to any clear proof of the existence of an Ionian or Aeolian satrap, independent of the satrap of Sardis. This satrapy seems to have formed a part of the more important Lydian satrapy, though it was, for financial purposes, regarded as distinct².

(3) The relations of the generals and the satraps cannot be made clear. In v. 25 Artaphernes is satrap of Sardis, and Otanes is general τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν; yet in iθ. 30 Artaphernes is said to rule over all the men on the coast in Asia, ἔχων στρατιήν τε πολλήν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. In the attack upon Naxos we never hear of Otanes; Aristagoras applies to Artaphernes, who communicates with Darius, and appoints Megabates to the command of the expedition. Yet no sooner has the revolt broken out than Otanes appears once more. We also hear of Harpagus as a Persian general in Atarneus, who acts in concert with Artaphernes, but to what degree, if any, he is subordinate to him, we cannot tell. Lastly, when Mardonius appears upon the scene, all the other generals are removed, and even Artaphernes is reduced to the second place. At any rate we find Mardonius making changes at his pleasure in the cities of Ionia, as Artaphernes had done before him.

The general result to which we come is that there were prac-

¹ This title does not however exclude a satrapy, for Tissaphernes of Sardis is both satrap and general, as was Cyrus after him.

² In Herod. vii. 194 we hear of Sandoces the ὑπαρχος Κύμης, and Stein sees in this a trace of the third satrapy. But at the time of the Ionian revolt Aristagoras is tyrant of Cyme, and at the time of the Scythian expedition, though he is not called 'tyrant,' he is in command of the ships of Cyme. Sandoces may have been no more than a temporary governor. In Thuc. viii. 16 Otages is said to be ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρνους.

tically two satrapies in Asia, west of the Halys, and that the cities of the coast from Cyme southwards were controlled from Sardis. But at times the satrap was allowed an extraordinary degree of power, as seems to have been the case with Artaphernes (Herod. v. 30) and Tissaphernes (Thuc. viii. 5); at others an independent officer was sent down to supersede him, with plenipotentiary powers; such officers were Mardonius and Cyrus. As a rule the satrap was a civil rather than a military officer; and the forces necessary for the control of the empire were placed under generals who were independent of him. Perhaps the districts of the satraps and those of the generals were designedly intended to cross one another, or the generals were moved from place to place. See on the subject Krumbholtz, l. c., where all the evidence bearing on it is collected.

EXCURSUS III.

V. 39.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF CLEOMENES.

FROM Herod. i. 67 we learn that Anaxandridas, the father of Cleomenes, was on the throne of Sparta in the time of Croesus, i.e. circ. 450 B.C.; and as we may conclude from the story of his childless wife that his children were born to him late in life, we may fix *à priori* 420 B.C. as a probable date for the accession of Cleomenes, who would be quite young at the time.

If we accept the date given by Thucydides iii. 68 for the beginning of the alliance of Plataea and Athens, i.e. 92 years before the destruction of the city in 427 B.C., we can at once fix 519 B.C. as falling within the reign of Cleomenes. But this date, as is well known, is contested on the ground that we can give no reason why Cleomenes should have been in Boeotia in 519 B.C.; and we know from Herodotus that he was in Boeotia when the Plataeans applied to him (vi. 108). And what is more important still—for we do not know all the movements of Cleomenes—the Spartan king had no reason in 519 B.C., when the Peisistratids were still on the throne of Athens, to embitter the Thebans against the Athenians, unless indeed we suppose that this was a move to counteract the friendship between the Argives and the Peisistratids. But from other evidence it is pretty clear that Cleomenes was on the throne as early as 519 B.C. It is to him that Maeandrius applies for help after his expulsion from Samos (iii. 148). Now Maeandrius was expelled soon after the death of Polycrates, which occurred in

522 B. C., and by 515 B. C.—i. e. at the date of the Scythian expedition—Syloson, who was restored to Samos by Darius, after the expulsion of Maeandrius, had been succeeded on the Samian throne by his son Aeaces. There is therefore no reason why Cleomenes should not have succeeded Anaxandridas in 520 or even a little earlier.

Among the earlier events of his reign we must place the attempts of his half-brother Dorieus to found colonies in Africa and Sicily. If the voyage of Dorieus to Sicily coincided with the destruction of Sybaris, we have a date for it: 510 B. C. Before this he had been in Libya, where he remained two years (v. 42). This brings us to 512 B. C. at the latest for the first colony. But from the fact that Dorieus took out these colonies in vexation that his brother Cleomenes had been allowed to succeed (v. 39, 42), we should suppose that the first attempt, at any rate, was made soon after the accession of Cleomenes, and as 512 B. C. is too late for this, we may suppose that some time elapsed between the voyage to Libya and the voyage to Sicily. The first may be placed three or four years earlier than 512 B. C.

The invasion of Attica in order to expel the Peisistratidae took place in 510 B. C.; the restoration of Isagoras to power in 508 B. C., which is the date of the archonship of Isagoras; the attempt to establish Isagoras as tyrant was in 507 or 506; and the meeting of the allies to discuss the restoration of Hippias may be placed three or four years later—allowing time for Cleomenes to discover the fraud which had been practised at the Delphian temple by the Alcmaeonidae. In 500 B. C. Aristagoras arrived at Sparta.

After the visit of Aristagoras we hear no more of Cleomenes till the arrival of the envoys of Darius in Greece, which falls in 491 B. C. The events recorded in connection with this are as follows:—

1. Cleomenes visits Aegina alone and is repelled by Crius.
2. Cleomenes brings about the deposition of Demaratus and the accession of Leotychidas—bribing the Pythia for this object.

3. Cleomenes proceeds with Leotychidas to Aegina, receives hostages, and places them with the Athenians.
4. The fraud of Cleomenes being discovered, he retires to Thessaly.
5. Cleomenes returns to Arcadia, and begins to combine the Arcadians against Sparta. He is recalled to the throne.
6. Madness and death of Cleomenes.

The period occupied by these events can only be guessed at. It seems pretty clear that Cleomenes was not at Sparta in 490, or we should have heard of him; but whether he was dead or absent from the city is uncertain. The date therefore of the death of Cleomenes cannot be precisely fixed: it is not before 490 B. C. nor long after.

On these calculations the reign of Cleomenes lasted thirty years, 520–490 B. C., at the least. Yet Herodotus says *οὐ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἤρξε ὁ Κλεομένης* (v. 48). But these words are used in reference to the succession of Dorieus, who, if he had patiently bided his time, would have succeeded Cleomenes. And this is true; for Leonidas, the younger brother of Dorieus, was king of Sparta for some years after Cleomenes—488?–480 B. C.: and after the death of Leonidas his younger brother was regent for a time. Moreover Cleomenes came to an untimely end, and he did not live out the natural term of life.

It remains to discuss the most important military event of the reign of Cleomenes, his invasion of Argos. Pausanias (iii. 4. 1) puts this immediately after his accession, i. e. soon after 520 B. C. But in Herod. vii. 148, the Argives in 481 B. C. excuse their action in regard to the defence of Hellas, by affirming that they have *recently* suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Spartans. This is inconsistent with a defeat thirty-nine years before. Again Herodotus connects the defeat of the Argives with the fall of Miletus (which occurred in 494 B. C.) saying that in an oracle which was given to Miletus there was also a prediction concerning Argos (Herod. vi. 19, 77) and from this we should gather that the defeat of Argos and the fall of Miletus were more or less coincident. On this ground we might follow Grote in fixing 495 B. C. as the date of the

expedition to Argos¹. We must remember that the defeat of the Argives was so overwhelming that the 'slaves' became masters of everything (vi. 83). Before an end could be put to this state of affairs, a new generation had to grow up; and even after this the Argives and the 'slaves,' who established themselves at Tiryns, were engaged in a long war, in which the Argives were at length, but not without difficulty, successful.

For these reasons we may fairly assume that Argos was in a state of weakness and humiliation for a number of years after her great defeat. And if this occurred in 495 B. C. she might plead it as a cause for inaction in 481 B. C.

But on the other hand we find that a band of a thousand Argives came to the help of the Aeginetans against Athens at some time after 491 B. C. but not long after (Herod. vi. 92), and it is difficult to see how this is consistent with an overwhelming defeat in 495 B. C. and with the consequences which Herodotus attributes to that defeat. The date of the Argive expedition must therefore remain uncertain; it was not after 494 B. C. and probably not before 510 B. C.²

The visit of the Scythians to Sparta in the reign of Cleomenes, if it occurred at all, is perhaps to be placed in connection with the advance of the Scythians, which caused Miltiades to retire from the Chersonesus, about 496 B. C.

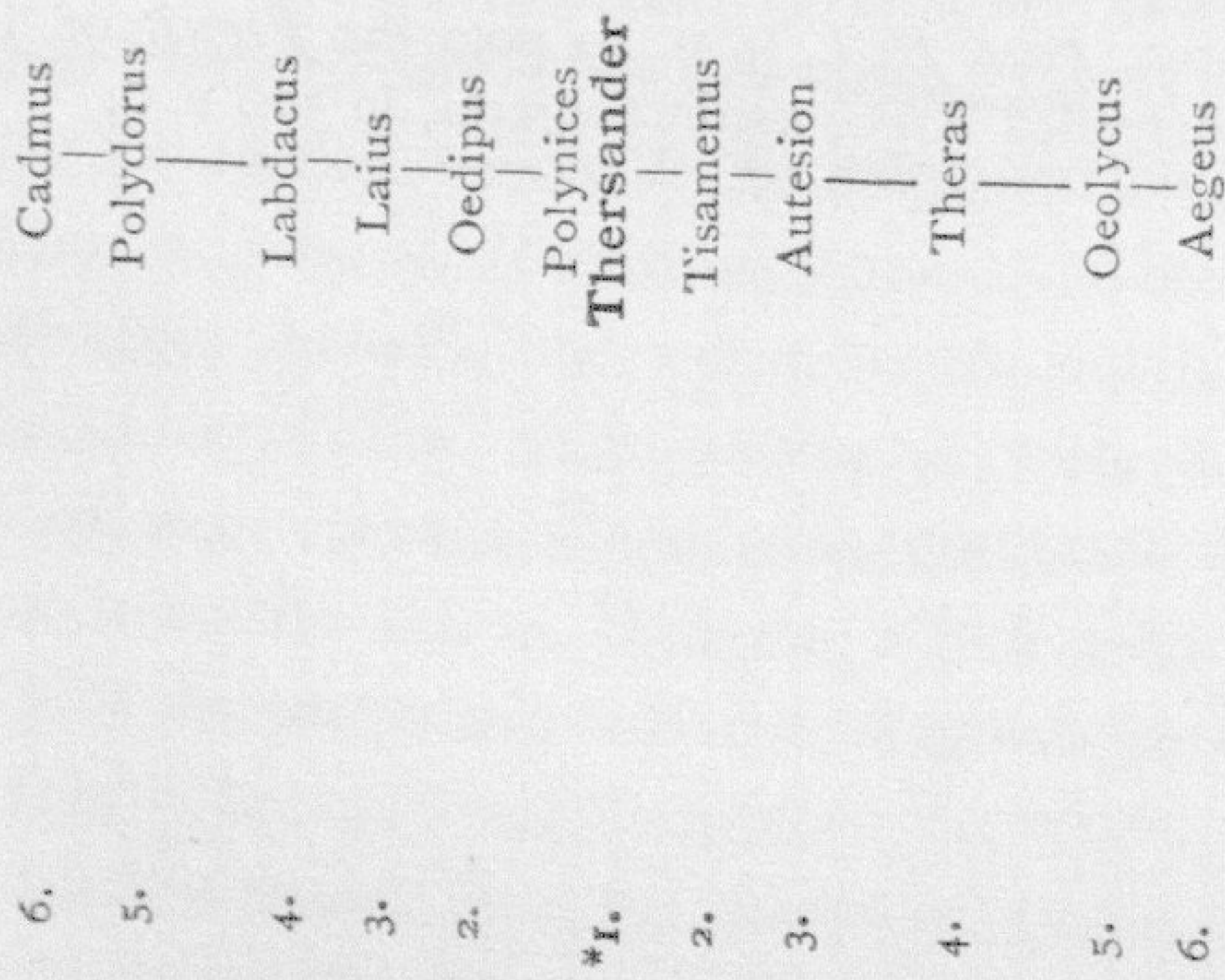
¹ *Hist. Greece*, iii. 275.

² Clinton, *Fast. Hell.*, ii. p. 19 puts the *floruit* of Telesilla, who is said to have defended Argos against Sparta, in 510 B. C.

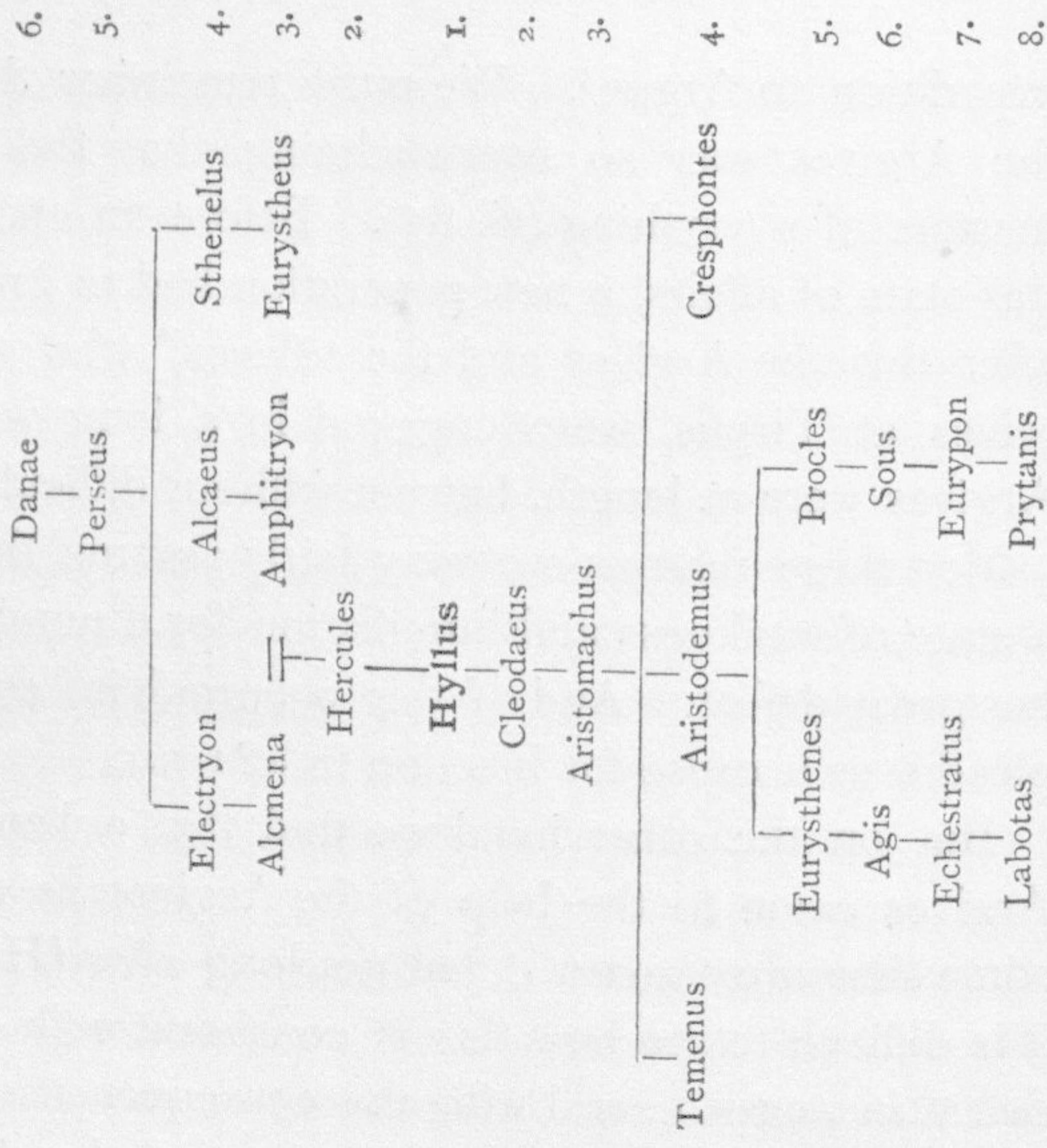
EXCURSUS IV.

THEBAN AND SPARTAN GENEALOGIES. V. 59.

THEBAN KINGS.



ARGIVE AND SPARTAN KINGS.



* Date of Trojan war.

EXCURSUS V.

V. 62.

THE ALCMAEONIDAE.

IN Pausanias the Alcmaeonidae are derived together with the Paeonidae and Medontidae from Neleus, the King of Pylus, in the following manner: ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν (οἱ Ἡρακλείδαι) ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους Ἀλκμέωνα Σίλλου τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου τοῦ Βώρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Πεισιστράτου, (τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα παρ' οὔστινας ἀπεχώρησεν) ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν (Paus. ii. 18. 8). So much of the legend as refers to Melanthus is as old as Hellanicus (see *Frag.* 10 M), but what views Hellanicus may have held about the origin of the Alcmaeonids is unknown.

On the other hand Herodotus, while allowing a Pylian origin to the Peisistratidae and to Melanthus and Codrus, speaks of the Alcmaeonidae with emphasis as Athenians. As Athenians they are distinct from the Ionians, and therefore, we should presume, from other immigrants (Herod. v. 62, 69). And in Suidas—whatever his notice may be worth—we find: Ἀλκμεωνίδαι λαμπροί τινες Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπὸ Ἀλκμέωνος τοῦ κατὰ Θησέα. It has also been observed that Alcmaeon is a name quite unknown to Messenian legend¹. It is obvious that we have here two

¹ Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 227. Toepffer thinks that the Messenian origin of the Athenian royal race is a fiction intended to support the Athenian claim to the Ionian colonies in Asia, which were largely the work of Messenians. His remarks, if not convincing, are interesting.

different accounts of the origin of the family, and all that can be said is that the Alcmaeonidae, in their desire to stand on an equal footing with the royal race at Athens, and with the race which had ruled as tyrants, might very well put forward a claim to the same origin.

Another question which has been asked about the Alcmaeonidae is this: Were they or were they not Eupatrids? The question has arisen out of a passage in Isocrates, in which the son of the great Alcibiades is made to say: ὁ γὰρ πατήρ πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἦν Εὐπατριδῶν, ὧν τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ῥάδιον γνῶναι, πρὸς γυναικῶν δ' Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν οἱ τοῦ μὲν πλούτου μέγιστον μνημεῖον κατέλιπον (ἵππων γὰρ ζεύγει πρῶτος Ἀλκμαίων τῶν πολιτῶν Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐνίκησε) τὴν δ' εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς τυραννικοῖς ἐπεδείξαντο. συγγενεῖς γὰρ ὄντες Πεισιστράτου καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ χρώμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐκ ἠξίωσαν μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου τυραννίδος ἀλλ' εἵλοντο φυγεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολίτας ἰδεῖν δουλεύοντας (περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους, § 27). By some interpreters this passage has been taken to mean that the Alcmaeonidae were not Eupatrids, the two races being here opposed to one another; by others, again, the Alcmaeonidae are thought to be contrasted with the Eupatrids, not as a different race, but as the most eminent among them. This, which is the view of Vischer, is probably right, for that the Alcmaeonidae were Eupatrids is clear from the fact that Megacles was archon at the time of Cylon, when the archons were chosen only from the ranks of the Eupatrids¹. It is also possible that the word Eupatridae is used in a double sense: 1. to denote men of noble birth, in which sense the Alcmaeonidae were certainly Eupatrids; 2. to denote a special family, in which sense the Eupatridae and the Alcmaeonidae may have been distinct².

3. Whether the Megacles and Alcmaeon who meet us in the list of the life archons at Athens were Alcmaeonidae or not cannot be decided. Of course, if we could trust the tradition that

¹ W. Vischer, *Ueber der Stellung d. Gesch. d. Alkmaioniden*, Kl. Schrift. i. pp. 385, 389, etc.

² See Toepffer, *l. c.* 175 ff.

the royal office at Athens was restricted to the Medontidae, this question could not be raised; the names, if names of the Alcmaeonidae, must have been brought into the Medontid race by marriage or otherwise. But the account given in the *Athenian Constitution* of the early history of Athens is so far removed from the traditional account, that we feel ourselves in doubt on the whole matter. Setting this aside, we first hear of the family on the occasion of the affair of Cylon, when Megacles was archon. His conduct on this occasion brought upon his family the stain of sacrilege. In his ruthless determination to crush the attempt at tyranny, he slaughtered men who were under the protection of the altars; and from this time the Alcmaeonidae were known as the 'accursed.'

The sacrilege of which Megacles was guilty was the cause of much disquiet in the city, and, after an interval of strife and disturbance, the Alcmaeonidae were persuaded to submit themselves to the judgment of a council of three hundred notables. The sentence was severe. The living members of the family were banished, the bones of the dead were taken up and removed across the borders of the country. The date of this punishment is uncertain, but the revenge taken on the dead may imply that it fell on the generation after Megacles, and if Plutarch is right in connecting it with Solon, it cannot be placed long before 600 B. C. The severity of it points to a strong feeling among the notables against the Alcmaeonidae, of which traces appear in the later history of Athens.

4. Next we hear of Alcmaeon as the commander of the Athenian forces in the First Sacred War¹, which came to an end in 586 B. C. As the war lasted ten years, we are driven to the conclusion that the banishment of the Alcmaeonidae cannot have lasted long: Alcmaeon must have been general of the Athenian forces by 590 B. C., and he cannot have been general while an exile. This election of Alcmaeon to command the forces of Athens in the sacred war may have been the beginning of that connection with Delphi which was to be of such importance to the family.

¹ Plut. *Sol.* c. 11 on the authority of the *Δελφῶν ὑπομνήματα*.

5. In the party struggles which divided Athens about the year 560 B.C. Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, is the leader of the Parali, or Shore. He had already been enriched by his marriage with Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, and, according to Herodotus, Alcmaeon had already received from Croesus the handsome present which enabled him perhaps to be the first Athenian who won with a chariot at Olympia (see Isocr. *l.c.*), and to send his son to Sicyon as a fit match for the great heiress of Greece. (For the chronological difficulties see Exc. on the Chronology of the Sixth Century.) In putting themselves at the head of the Shore, which was the moderate party, the Alcmaeonidae were probably decided by the events of the previous generation. They were naturally hostile to the old aristocracy, after the sentence which had been passed upon them, while the more democratic party was patronised by Peisistratus. And there is nothing to show that at this time the Alcmaeonidae were inclined to support a democracy. When they came back to Athens, they came as the opponents of tyranny—the same part which they played in the days of Cylon—and it was not till Cleisthenes found his position untenable that he ‘made the people his club,’ to meet the associations upon which Isagoras relied to oppose him.

6. The result of the final establishment of Peisistratus on the throne was the renewed exile of the Alcmaeonidae—not as ‘accursed,’ but as personal opponents of the tyrant family, between whom and Megacles, owing to the conduct of Peisistratus towards his daughter, there was an irreparable breach. What we know of the Alcmaeonidae during their exile is related by Herodotus. Setting the chronological difficulties aside, we have first the attempt to establish a footing in Attica at Leipsydrium, which was apparently the old home of the Alcmaeonidae; and on the failure of this, the negotiations at Delphi which ended in the expulsion of the Peisistratidae from Athens by the Spartans. It is perhaps worth notice that the Alcmaeonidae seem to have made no attempt to return during the life of Peisistratus himself.

7. When Cleisthenes returned to Athens, the demos were with-

out a leader, but the old oligarchical party were as far as ever from wishing to see the Alcmaeonidae at their head. Cleisthenes however quickly made it clear that he did not intend to allow those who had treated his family so severely to have the undisputed control of affairs. If he did not wish to be a tyrant, he wished to be at least the head of the foremost family in the city. The oligarchs fell back on Sparta—promising no doubt that Athens should be a subservient member of the Spartan league—which was precisely what Cleomenes wished. The old cry of the ‘accursed’ was again raised, and Cleisthenes found it well to retire. The subsequent conduct of Cleomenes and Isagoras showed that Athens under their rule would be a strict oligarchy. The people took alarm; the new régime came to an end as quickly as it began; and Cleisthenes was once more recalled. His course was now clear: if he wished to retain his place in Athens, if Athens was to be independent of Sparta, he must become the champion of the demos. Hence the constitution of Cleisthenes was the beginning of the thorough-going democracy at Athens, though, as compared with the later development, it appeared an oligarchy.

8. With Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonidae disappear from view as leaders in Athens, at least in the male line. But the eminence and also the policy of the family were perpetuated through the females. Xanthippus, the husband of Agariste (the niece of Cleisthenes) was the leader of the demos at the time of the battle of Marathon; the son of Agariste was Pericles. From Cleisthenes in a direct line was descended Deinomache, the mother of Alcibiades. In both these men we may discern the characteristics of the race to which they belonged. Pericles was not less remarkable for his aristocratic bearing than for his democratic sympathies; like Cleisthenes he saw that ‘aristocracy’ was at an end, and threw in his lot with the demos. Alcibiades was willing to lead the demos or the oligarchs, but a leader he must be, and this was in brief the history of his race¹.

¹ See J. H. Wright, *The date of Cylon*, Boston, U.S.A., p. 28 ff., p. 52 ff.

EXCURSUS VI.

V. 66.

THE FOUR TRIBES.

1. THAT the four tribes, which were in existence at Athens before the time of Cleisthenes were Ionic—not Attic—is the universal tradition of antiquity. In addition to the passage in Herodotus, v. 66—which is the earliest mention of them—we have Eurip. *Ion*, 1575 ff.

οἱ τοῦδε γὰρ
παῖδες γενόμενοι τέσσαρες ῥίζης μιᾶς,
ἐπώνυμοι γῆς κάπιφυλίου χθονὸς
λαῶν ἔσονται, σκόπελον οἱ ναίουσ' ἐμόν.
Τελέων μὲν ἔσται πρῶτος· εἶτα δεύτερον
Ὅπλητες Ἀργαδῆς τ', ἐμῆς τ' ἀπ' αἰγίδος
ἐν φύλον ἔξουσ' Αἰγικορῆς.

The same statement is repeated in the Lexicographers, etc.: Pollux, viii. 109; Steph. Byz. s. v. Αἰγικόρεως.

We also learn that the tribes were in existence at Cyzicus and Teos—Ionian cities: Boeckh, *C. I. G.* ii. pp. 670, 919 ff.

2. No ancient author attempts to connect the four tribes with any quadruple division of the country, though Plato, *Crit.* p. 110 C, when speaking of the castes in ancient Athens, asserts that the warrior caste dwelt apart: ὥκει δὲ δὴ τότε ἐν τηδε τῇ χώρᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τὰς δημιουργίας ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφήν, τὸ δὲ μάχιμον ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν θείων κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀφορισθὲν ὥκει χωρίς. But this is a mere fanciful picture. In the accounts of the factions of the sixth century, which are

distinguished by local interests, we never find a hint that any of the three factions was connected with a tribe, which if the tribes had been settled in divisions of the country locally distinct would have been inevitable.

3. There is some little doubt about the precise form of the names. Aegicoreis and Hopletes are pretty certain, but Euripides has Teleon where Herodotus has Geleon, and another variant is Gedeon. So for Argadeis we find Ergadeis, see Plut. *Sol.* 23, quoted below, Steph. Byz. *l. c.* The best attested forms appear to be Geleon and Argadeis.

4. The meaning and significance of the names have given rise to much controversy. The ancients themselves saw in them the names of occupations or lives. Thus Plutarch, *Sol.* 23 καὶ τὰς φυλὰς εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνος νιῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν εἰς ἃ διηρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον ὠνομάσθαι· τὸ μὲν μάχιμον, Ὀπλίτας, τὸ δ' ἐργατικὸν Ἐργάδεις, δυεῖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Γελέοντας μὲν τοὺς γεωργοὺς, Αἰγικορεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ νομαῖς καὶ προβατείαις διατρίβοντας. Strabo, though he does not identify the names in the same precise manner as Plutarch, tells us that Ion first divided the people into four tribes and then into four lives: πρῶτον μὲν εἰς φυλὰς διεῖλε τὸ πλῆθος, εἶτα εἰς τέτταρας βίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γεωργοὺς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς δὲ δημιουργοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιούς, τετάρτους δὲ τοὺς φύλακας. In this enumeration we observe that the ἱεροποιοί are introduced, who are not found in Plutarch's enumeration; and on the other hand the shepherds, whom Plutarch identifies with the Aegicoreis, are omitted.

5. At some remote period when the Ionians were still in the tribal condition, the names may have indicated occupations, though it is also possible that the very forms of the words which seem to indicate occupations are due to confused etymology. A word which is unintelligible is naturally brought into resemblance to a more familiar word, and it may then be interpreted by the word to which it has been assimilated. Moreover the very meaning of the names is by no means certain. Aegicoreis is, of all the four, that which seems to bear the plainest significance. But Strabo, as we have seen, has no 'life' to correspond to this meaning of the word; and the root

aiy seems to be connected with other meanings than goat in Aegae, Aegaeon—words connected with Poseidon or the sea, and carrying us in quite another direction. Of Geleon no satisfactory explanation has ever been given; Herodotus and Euripides put the name first in the enumeration; but Plutarch interprets it as ‘husbandmen.’ Hopletes may be warriors, yet some interpret it as ‘makers of implements,’ handicraftsmen, *δημιουργοί*. Argadeis may be either labourers in the field or artizans. In this uncertainty it cannot be said that the interpretation of the words as signifying ‘castes’ is well made out.

6. That the tribes—whatever their original significance—never signified castes or occupations in Attica may be assumed as certain. In the constitution of Solon 100 members were chosen from each tribe into the Council; each tribe, therefore, was equal with the rest. But this could not have been the case if all those who bore arms were in one tribe. Nor is there any evidence to show that the priests ever formed a class apart, but, on the contrary, all the evidence which we have goes to show that such a priesthood was quite alien to Greek feeling. The names as we know them are merely names of four divisions of the Athenian people, regarded as Ionians, in which apparently all the citizens were collected¹.

¹ See Hermann, *Staatsalt.* § 94; Bähr's Excursus to Herod. v. 66; Grote, *Hist. Greece*, ii. 263 ff. (1862); Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece*, E. T. 317 ff.; Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, ii. App. 1.

EXCURSUS VII.

V. 69.

THE CONSTITUTION OF CLEISTHENES.

HERODOTUS is the only writer of the fifth century, B.C., who mentions the way in which Cleisthenes rose to power, or the reforms which he introduced into the Athenian constitution; and till recently we had nothing better from the fourth century than the rhetoric of Isocrates on the one hand, and on the other, fragmentary and obscure statements in the *Politics* of Aristotle, or quoted from that author's *Athenian Constitution*, from Cleidemus, and Androtion, statements which were the more confusing because Aristotle and Cleidemus are sometimes at variance.

But the discovery of the *Constitution of Athens* has put us in a far better position. We have now a second account of the rise of Cleisthenes to power, which, while agreeing—at times verbally—with the account of Herodotus, yet gives us a more connected and complete account of the reforms of Cleisthenes than we have hitherto been able to put together. If we compare this account with that of Herodotus, we shall find that in one crucial point, the number of the demes as arranged by Cleisthenes, Aristotle is silent, but that he adds many details which Herodotus has omitted. His account is as follows:—

XX. καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰσαγόρας ὁ Τεισάνδρου φίλος ὦν τῶν τυράννων καὶ Κλεισθένης τοῦ γένους ὦν τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν. ἡττώμενος¹ δὲ ταῖς ἐταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσ-

¹ Words printed in heavy type are common to Herodotus and Aristotle.

ηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον, ἀποδιδούς τῷ πλήθει τὴν πολιτείαν. ὁ δὲ Ἴσα- 2
 γόρας ἐπιλειπόμενος τῇ δυνάμει πάλιν ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν Κλεομένην 3
 ὄντα ἑαυτῷ ξένον συνέπεισεν ἐλαύνειν τὸ ἄγος, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας
 δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἐναγῶν. ὑπεξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεισθένους (ἀφικόμενος
 ὁ Κλεομένης) μετ' ὀλίγων ἡγηλάτει τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑπτακοσίας οἰκίας·
 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν βουλήν ἐπειράτο καταλύειν, Ἴσαγόραν
 δὲ καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν φίλων μετ' αὐτοῦ κυρίους καθιστάναι τῆς πόλεως. 4
 τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἀντιστάσης καὶ συναθροισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν
 περὶ τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ Ἴσαγόραν κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ
 δῆμος δύο μὲν ἡμέρας προσκαθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ Κλεο- 5
 μένην μὲν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀφεῖσαν ὑποσπόνδους, Κλεισθένην
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας μετεπέμψαντο. κατασχόντος δὲ τοῦ
 δήμου τὰ πράγματα Κλεισθένης ἡγεμὼν ἦν καὶ τοῦ δήμου προστάτης.
 αἰτιώτατοι γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν τυράννων οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι
 καὶ στασιάζοντες τὰ πολλὰ διετέλεσαν. ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀλκμεωνι-
 δῶν Κήδων ἐπέθετο τοῖς τυράννοις, διὸ καὶ ἦδον καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς
 σκολιοῖς·

ἔγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκουε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
 εἰ χρή τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.

XXI. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπίστευον† ὁ δῆμος† τῷ Κλεισθένει.
 τότε δὲ τοῦ πλήθους προεστηκὼς ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων
 κατάλυσιν ἐπὶ Ἰσαγόρου ἄρχοντος πρῶτον μὲν οὖν† (συν)ένειμε πάν- 2
 τας εἰς δέκα φυλὰς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων, ἀναμεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅπως
 μετὰσχωσι πλείους τῆς πολιτείας· ὅθεν ἐλέχθη καὶ τὸ μὴ φυλοκρινεῖν
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐξετάζειν τὰ γένη βουλομένους. ἔπειτα τὴν βουλήν πεντα- 3
 κοσίους ἀντὶ τετρακοσίων κατέστησεν, πεντήκοντα ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς·
 τότε δ' ἦσαν ἑκατόν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς συνέταξεν,
 ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ συμβαίνειν μερίζειν κατὰ τὰς προυπαρχούσας τριττῦς·
 ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκ δ' φυλῶν δώδεκα τριττῦες, ὥστ' οὐ συνέπιπτεν (ἀν)
 ἀναμίσγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. διένειμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν κατὰ δήμους 4
 τριάκοντα μέρη, δέκα μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, δέκα δὲ τῆς παραλίας, δέκα
 δὲ τῆς μεσογείου, καὶ ταύτας ἐπονομάσας τριττῦς ἐκλήρωσεν τρεῖς εἰς
 τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην, ὅπως ἐκάστη μετέχῃ πάντων τῶν τόπων. καὶ
 δημότας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν δήμων, ἵνα
 μὴ πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσιν τοὺς νεοπολίτας, ἀλλὰ τῶν
 δήμων ἀναγορεύωσιν· ὅθεν καὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν
 δήμων. κατέστησε δὲ καὶ δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς

5 πρότερον ναυκράροις· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δῆμους ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν.
 προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δῆμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
 6 κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις. τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς
 φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἴασεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῖς
 δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνύμους ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν ἀρχηγετῶν οὓς
 ἀνείλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα.

XXII. τούτων δὲ γενομένων δημοτικωτέρα πολὺ τῆς Σόλωνος ἐγένετο
 ἡ πολιτεία. καὶ γὰρ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν Σόλωνος νόμους ἀφανίσαι τὴν
 τυραννίδα διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι, καινοὺς δ' ἄλλους θείναι τὸν Κλεισθένη
 στοχαζόμενον τοῦ πλήθους, ἐν οἷς ἐτέθη καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὀστρακισμοῦ
 νόμος. Arist. *Athen. Pol.* cc. xx-xxii.

NOTES.—XX. 1. The chronology is much clearer in the account of Aristotle than in that of Herodotus. The reforms of Cleisthenes did not come in till his triumph over Isagoras was assured, though he won the people by promises, and from c. xxi. 1 we see that matters came to a crisis in 508-7 B.C.—three years after the expulsion of the tyrants.

XX. 3. τὴν βουλήν. The senate of 400.

XX. § 5. Κήδων. This is a fact hitherto unknown. Observe that nothing is said of the embassy to Persia mentioned by Herodotus.

XXI. § 1. ἄρχοντος. There may be a lacuna here, as Kaibel and Wilamowitz suggest. If there is no lacuna οὖν is not required. Nothing is here said of the composition of the tribes of Cleisthenes, of which we are told (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 2. 3 = 1275 b 36) πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους; yet see *infra*. § 4 τοὺς νεοπολίτας.

§ 3. τότε, i.e. down to Cleisthenes' time. The old Solonian senate consisted of 400, one hundred from each of the four tribes.

§ 4. Of this division Herodotus says nothing. It was however known to us from Psellus περὶ δικῶν, quoted by Hermann, *Staatsalt.* 111. 5 Κλεισθένης γὰρ τις εἰς τριάκοντα μοίρας τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασαν διανείμας, ἐπεὶδὴ τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐπιθαλαττίδιον ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ

μέσου καθῆστο τῆς χώρας, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄστυ συνέστρωτο, δέκα μὲν μοίρας τῇ παραλίῳ συντέτευχε, δέκα δὲ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσόγειον, δέκα δὲ ἀστυνόμους ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ τριτημόριον τριττὺς ὠνόμαστο.

§ 5. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δήμους, κ.τ.λ. Cleidemus differed from this, Photius, Lex. ναυκραρία: Ὁ Κλείδημος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησὶν ὅτι Κλεισθένους δέκα φύλας ποιήσαντος ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσάρων συνέβη καὶ εἰς πεντήκοντα μέρη διαταγῆναι· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκάλουν ναυκραρίας.

§ 6. τὰ δὲ γένη, κ.τ.λ. From this passage we are at length able to see that in *Pol.* vi. 4. 18, 19=1319 b. 19 f. we must take part of the statement only as referring to Athens and Cleisthenes; the passage runs: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν τοιαύτην οἷς Κλεισθένης τε Ἀθήνησιν ἐχρήσατο βουλόμενος αὐξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν δῆμον καθιστάντες. φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον.

Aristotle says nothing of the Apodectae who, according to Androtion, were established by Cleisthenes in the place of (ἀντί) the Colacretae (Harpocration, *s. v.* ἀποδέκται). [The statement of Androtion is only partially true, for whether Cleisthenes established the Apodectae or not, he did not abolish the Colacretae.]

Aristotle mentions the fact that the names of the ten tribes were partly chosen by the oracle at Delphi, a fact which is recorded by Pausanias, x. 10. 1, and Pollux, viii. 10.

Aristotle and Herodotus regard the constitution of Cleisthenes as a great step in the direction of democracy. But at a later time, in the days of extreme democracy and afterwards, this was not the case. The constitution of Cleisthenes was then regarded as very limited. Cf. *Ath. Pol.* xxix. § 3 ὡς οὐ δημοτικὴν ἀλλὰ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν τὴν Κλεισθένους πολιτείαν τῇ Σόλωνος. Plutarch *Cim.* 15 even speaks of the 'aristocracy' of Cleisthenes, and this is practically the view taken by Isocrates.

The constitution was an attempt to put an end to στάσις.

With this view politics were separated as much as possible from family life and influence. The old 'phratries' and γένη were disregarded; everything was managed through the demes, which were purely local units. And, in order to prevent local influence from becoming prominent, the demes were arranged in ten tribes, in a manner which separated deme from deme, at least to a large extent¹. Both tribes and demes were kept together by the worship of heroes, and they were under the control of special officers. Lastly, the expedient of ostracism was adopted as a safeguard against anyone who seemed to be acquiring a power which threatened the balance of the state, or to be aiming at a position inconsistent with the constitution. And the institution was perhaps of some value so long as there was a danger of a man thrusting himself on the state by the assistance of a foreign city, as Hippias and Isagoras had endeavoured to do, though we must allow that it was quite useless to prevent a citizen from obtaining almost absolute power with the help of the people. It was owing to ostracism that Themistocles and Pericles rose to a position of almost regal authority.

¹ Whether the demes of Attica were distributed by Cleisthenes among the tribes in the manner described by Aristotle is more than we can say, for we have no record of a time when the demes were only 100 in number. Of the nineteen demes known to have belonged to the Hippothoontid tribe we find four in the Diacria, four in the plains of Eleusis and Athens, and four in the city and the Paralia, while the position of seven remains unknown.

EXCURSUS VIII.

THE AFFAIR OF CYLON.

V. 71.

Ι. Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους, Μεγαρέως ἀνδρὸς ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὥς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλοί, οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια· δοκῶν δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι, ἢ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσιν· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὥς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥς ἑώρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δὲ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου

ἐναγείς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἦλσαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγείς τούτους, ἦλσε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τοὺς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

Thucydides, i. 126.

2. Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ἱκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἔδους κρόκην κλωστήν, καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὥς ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καταβαίνοντες, αὐτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ῥαγείσης, ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες, ὥς τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες ἀπесφάγησαν· μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναικάς αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαντες. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ κληθέντες ἐναγείς ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενομένοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες αἰεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἤδη δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον ἅμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγείς λεγομένους δίκην ὑποσχεῖν καὶ κριθῆναι, τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ Φλυέως κατηγοροῦντος, ἐάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες, ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους.

Plut. Sol. c. xii.

See J. H. Wright, *Op. cit.* (*supr.* p. 141).

EXCURSUS IX.

THE TYRANTS OF CORINTH.

V. 92.

Extracts from the Seventh Book of Nicolaus of Damascus¹.

I. OF CYPSELUS.

Λόγιον ἦν τοῖς Βακχιάδαις ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἀετίωνος καταλυθεῖσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. Γενόμενον οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν σπαργάνοις ἔτι ὄντα ὑποπέμψαντες τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινὰς ἐκέλευον κτείνειν. Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μελλόντων ἀναιρεῖν, ὀρέγον τὰς χεῖρας τὸ παιδάριον προσεμειδία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· τοὺς δὲ οἶκτος εἰσῆλθε, καὶ ἔγνωσαν μηκέτι ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ φράσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὰς ἀληθείας ἐκποδῶν ἀπιέναι. Δόξαν δὲ οἱ μὲν εἶπαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀετίων εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸ ὑπεκτίθεται καὶ ἔτρεφεν, ὥς ἂν ἰκέτην τοῦ θεοῦ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρσύνσας εἰς Κλεωνὰς ἤγαγε, μεираκιον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ πολλῶν διαφέροντα τὴν ιδέαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κύψελος βουλόμενος κατελθεῖν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐν Δελφοῖς. Συμφέρουσαν δὲ δεξάμενος φήμην οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἦκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ ταχὺ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀγαστὸς ἦν, ἀνδρείος τε καὶ σώφρων καὶ δημωφελὴς δοκῶν εἶναι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους Βακχιάδας ὑβριστὰς τε ὄντας καὶ βιαίους. Πολεμαρχήσας δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐστέρχθη, τῶν πώποτε ταύτην ἀρξάντων τὴν ἀρχὴν μακρῶ ἄριστος γενόμενος· τᾶλλα τε γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἔπραξε καὶ τόδε· νόμος καθεστήκει Κορινθίοις τοὺς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἀλισκομένους ἀπάγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον, καὶ καθεῖργνυσθαι τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν ἕνεκα, ὧν καὶ αὐτῷ μέρος τι ἦν. Ὁ δὲ οὔτε καθεῖρξέ τινα πολίτην, οὔτε ἔδησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυε δεχόμενος ἐγγυητάς, τῶν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγίνετο, πᾶσι δὲ ἡφίει τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος· ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα ἐν τῷ πλήθει ἐστέργετο. Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐχθρῶδῶς πρὸς

¹ Fragg. 58-60 of Müller's edition.

Βακχιάδας διακειμένους προστάτην δ' οὐκ ἔχοντας, ᾧ χρησάμενοι καταλύσειαν αὐτούς, ἐπέδωκεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐδημαγώγει τὸ πλῆθος, τὸν τε χρησμὸν λέγων, ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πέπρωται καταλυθῆναι αὐτούς, ἀνθ' ὅτου καὶ πάλαι γεγόμενον αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειαν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐ δεδυνῆσθαι παρατρέψαι τὰ μοιρίδια. Οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως προσίεντο τοὺς λόγους, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενεῖς ὄντες, τῷ δὲ εὖνοι, καὶ τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ κατορθώσειν τὸ ἔργον ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρείας ἔχοντες. Τέλος δὲ συστήσας ἐταιρικὸν κτείνει βασιλεύοντα Πατροκλείδην, παράνομον ὄντα καὶ ἐπαχθῇ. Ταχὺ δὲ ἀντ' ἐκείνου ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν βασιλέα κατέστησεν. Ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε φυγάδας κατάγει, καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ὑπὸ τῶν Βακχιαδῶν γενομένους ἐπιτίμους πάλιν ἐποίησε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐχρήτο εἰς ὃ τι βούλοιτο αὐτοῖς· εἰς τε ἀποικίαν ἐξῆγε τοὺς μὴ φίλους, ὅπως ἂν ῥᾶον ἄρχοι τῶν λοιπῶν· ἔπεμψε δὲ εἰς τε Λευκάδα καὶ Ἀνακτόριον, οἰκιστὰς αὐτῶν Πυλάδην καὶ Ἐχιάδην τάξας, παῖδας αὐτοῦ νόθους· τοὺς δὲ Βακχιάδας φυγαδεύσας ἐδήμευσε τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ εἰς Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησαν. Κύψελος δὲ Κορίνθου πρῶτος ἦρχεν, οὔτε δορυφόρους ἔχων, οὔτ' ἀποθύμιος ὢν Κορινθίοις. Βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη λ' ¹ ἐτελεύτησε τέσσαρας υἱοὺς καταλιπών, ὧν γνήσιος μὲν ἦν Περίανδρος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νόθοι.

2. OF PERIANDER.

Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου υἱός, τοῦ βασιλέως Κορινθίων, τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ πρεσβεῖον παραλαμβάνει, καὶ ὑπὸ ὠμότητος καὶ βίας ἐξέτρεψεν αὐτὴν εἰς τυραννίδα, καὶ δορυφόρους εἶχε τριακοσίους. Ἐκώλυε τε τοὺς πολίτας δούλους κτᾶσθαι, καὶ σχολὴν ἄγειν, αἰεὶ τινα αὐτοῖς ἔργα ἐξευρίσκων. Εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καθέζοιτο ἐζημίον, δεδιὼς μὴ τι βουλεύοιντο κατ' αὐτοῦ. Λέγεται καὶ ἄλλο αὐτὸν ἔργον ἀνομον ἐργάσασθαι, νεκρᾷ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ μιγέντα ὑπ' ἔρωτος. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ συνεχῶς καὶ ἦν πολεμικός· τριήρεις τε ναυπηγησάμενος ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρήτο ταῖς θαλάσσαις. Φασὶ δὲ τινες αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν γεγονέναι· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦν.

3. OF THE SUCCESSOR OF PERIANDER.

Περίανδρῳ τῷ τυράννῳ Κορινθίων γηραιῷ ἤδη ὄντι πάντες οἱ υἱεῖς ἐτελεύτησαν, ὧν Εὐαγόρας μὲν ἀποικίαν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐξαγαγών, Λυ-

¹ τριάκοντα.

κόφρων δὲ τυραννίδα κατασκευαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς περιοίκοις, Γόργος δὲ ἄρμα ἡνιοχῶν καὶ πεσῶν ἐπὶ τράχηλον, Νικόλαος δέ, ὅσπερ ἐδόκει μετριώτατος εἶναι, ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων δολοφονηθεὶς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Περίανδρος βουλόμενος, τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ, μένειν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λογιζόμενος ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπιθοῖντο Κορίνθιοι, Νικόλαον δὲ βασιλεύοντα ἀνάσχοιντο διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ἔγνω ἀποχωρήσας αὐτὸς εἰς Κέρκυραν Νικολάῳ παραδοῦναι τὴν Κόρινθον. Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ [ταῦτα] Κερκυραίων τινὲς τὴν Περιάνδρου γνώμην, καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν μητρόπολιν θέλοντες, τὸν τε Περιάνδρον εἰ ἀφίκοιτο ὀρρωδοῦντες, συστάντες κτείνουσι τὸν Νικόλαον διαιτώμενον παρὰ σφίσιν. Ὁ δὲ Περιάνδρος ἀθροίσας στράτευμα, ἐνέβαλον εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν ν' ¹ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ τούτων υἱέας πλείστους ὄντας ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀλυάττην τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ. Οἱ δὲ προσσχόντες Σάμῳ ἰκέται τῆς Ἥρας ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτοὺς Σάμιοι αἰσθόμενοι τὸ σύμπαν ἐρρύσαντο. Περιάνδρος δὲ Ψαμμητίχῳ Κέρκυραν παραδούς, ὅστις ἦν Γόργου μὲν υἱός, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ ἑαυτῷ, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον.

Ἐκδέκτορα τῆς βασιλείας κατέλιπε Περιάνδρος Κύψελον τὸν Γόργου παῖδα, τοῦ σφετέρου ἀδελφοῦ, ὃς ἐκ Κερκύρας ἀφικόμενος ἐτυράννευσε Κόρινθου ἄχρι αὐτὸν συστάντες τινὲς τῶν Κορινθίων ἔκτειναν, βραχὺν χρόνον κατασχόντα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡλευθέρωσαν. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὰς τε οἰκίας τῶν τυράννων κατέσκαψε, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευσεν, ἄταφόν τε ἐξώρισε τὸν Κύψελον, καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς τάφους ἀνορύξας, τὰ ὅστ' αὐτὸς ἐξέρριψεν αὐτὸς δὲ παραχρῆμα κατεστήσατο πολιτείαν τοιάνδε· μίαν μὲν ὀκτάδα προβούλων ἐποίησεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἀνδρῶν θ'.²

[Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 9. 22, where Psammetichus the son of Gordias is said to have been the last Cypselid tyrant.]

¹ πεντήκοντα.

² ἐννέα sc. ὀκτάδας.

EXCURSUS X.

ON THE TYRANTS.

V. 92.

TYRANTS and tyranny have met with severe treatment at the hands of Greek historians and philosophers. The word, which originally meant no more than 'monarch,' and is so used by the Greek tragedians, has never shaken off the associations of injustice and cruelty which have gathered round it in Greek literature. In Herodotus tyranny is the negation of government; it is the supremacy of one man who owns no law civil or moral, and uses the fortunes and lives, the industry and honour of his subjects to gratify the caprice of the moment. This general description is illustrated by the story of Polycrates, who put to death one of his brothers, and turned the other out of Samos; who robbed on every hand, saying that he gratified a friend more by restoring what he had taken, than if he never took it at all¹; of Cypselus, who slaughtered and despoiled the Corinthians²; and above all of Periander, whose cruelty extended to women³. Thucydides passes by the tyrants of Sicily, who were the wonder of the Grecian world, in a single sentence, with the contemptuous remark, that though they were the greatest of the tyrants, they achieved no remarkable deeds, and their wars, which were the most important events of their lives, were quite unimportant. Xenophon⁴ and Plato⁵ dwell on the misery of the tyrant as a man without domestic happiness or political

¹ Herod. iii. 80.

² Id. v. 92 ε.

⁴ Xenophon, *Hiero*.

³ Ibid. η.

⁵ Plato, *Republic*, ix. 577 f.

security ; a master in the midst of slaves, whose slave he must in time become ; a lonely friendless being, whose only trust is in a strong arm, and ever watchful eye ; while Aristotle¹ draws a picture more effective perhaps than any, by putting before us the plain and simple facts of the rise and fall of tyrannies in Greece. Modern writers who have treated of the subject, are for the most part content to take up the tale, and without asking whether the picture is true or not, delight in darkening the shadows of it.

Yet however bad the case of the tyrant may be, we must not allow it to go by default. There is something to be said on the other side. (1) If we consider the sources from which our knowledge of the tyrants is derived, we may reasonably doubt whether the accounts of them are strictly true, and still more whether we have the whole truth before us. And again (2) if we consider the acts of the tyrants as they are written large on Greek history in imperishable letters, we cannot agree that their power was contemptible or used entirely for selfish purposes ; and thirdly (3) if we consider that monarchy, in any shape, was almost unintelligible to the Greeks, we shall understand why tyranny was, in their eyes, without any redeeming features.

1. In most cases, at any rate in Greece proper, the tyrants were men belonging to the higher or privileged class in the city, who rose to power by enlisting on their side the unprivileged demos and breaking down the oligarchical government. This was certainly the case at Athens, Corinth, and Naxos, and even where it was not the case as with the Orthagoridae of Sicyon, the power of the tyrant was nevertheless felt most by the higher classes ; they were his rivals, his enemies, who felt his position to be an outrage on the equality of their order. To the populace it was either a matter of indifference whether they were ruled by one man or many ; or an advantage to have a ruler who defended them from their old oppressors. The situation was also more hopeful when there were two forces which could be matched one against the other ; or when power was monopolised

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. v.

by one man, whose life could at least be taken by a successful conspiracy. A solid oligarchy was what the people had most to fear.

It was among the oligarchies that the stories of the tyrants arose—at any rate the Corinthian stories, which are the worst of all—and they naturally bore the mark of their origin. The Corinthians who had suffered at the hands of Cypselus or Periander, when living in exile at Sparta or Corcyra, were not likely to treat the memory of their opponent with justice. When we turn from Corinth to Sicyon we find little or nothing said to the discredit of the tyrants, though the hand of Cleisthenes fell heavily enough on his Dorian subjects. At Athens the oligarchs delighted to blacken the memory of Peisistratus and his sons, but the common people took a different view of the matter. To them the rule of Peisistratus was an age of gold¹. Nevertheless the verdict of the oligarchs outweighed that of the demos, partly because the oligarchs had a greater command of literature, and partly because, at a later time, the people themselves were in constant fear of losing their liberties, or the tyrants became more oppressive.

For there were tyrants who ruled, not because they were sure of the support of the people, but by sheer strength. Such were the tyrants of Syracuse from the beginning. Gelo thought the 'people' an 'unpleasant companion,' and would not admit them into the city. He held his own by the wealth which enabled him to support a power of 10,000 mercenaries and by the wisdom of his rule. Yet the Sicilian tyrants, or at any rate the best of them, were those who were in the highest repute throughout Greece; their praises were sung by poets, the 'people' who might have given us a very different impression of them being without a mouthpiece.

The conclusion is that whether tyrants are blamed or whether they are praised we must be cautious in believing what we read about them.

2. That the tyrants were chiefly concerned in maintaining

¹ *Athen. Pol.* c. 16.

their own power, is no doubt true ; this was their first thought ; and selfish enough it was, for their power represented nothing but personal dominion. They had no legal place in the constitution of their cities ; they were not the representatives of a party. But many of them exercised this selfish domination in a manner which promoted the public good. Polycrates, for instance, kept his island independent of Persia ; Thrasybulus prevented the Lydians from acquiring Miletus. The victory of Gelo at Himera was almost as important an event in the history of civilisation as the victory of Salamis, for, if the Carthaginians had conquered Sicily, the history of Rome would probably have taken a different course. The victory of Cyme secured the trade of the Greeks in the Tyrrhenian sea. In Greece proper there was probably a nearer approach to unity in the days of the tyrants—though doubtless a superficial unity—than at any later time. The tyrants ‘renewed’ the national games, thus bringing the Greeks together, and causing them to be acquainted with each other—a matter most essential to unity, as Plato saw¹ ; they promoted agriculture, favoured the sports and pastimes of the people, such as the Dionysia, and preserved peace. In the reign of Peisistratus the influence of Athens extended from Macedonia to Sparta and Argos, while Thebes and Naxos, and perhaps Samos also, were friendly powers. With extraordinary insight he established settlements near the Strymon and at Sigeum—the two points which, a century later, were found to be most vital to Athenian interests. And if there was no war in his day which would compare with the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks were not the worse off on that account.

3. The centuries which have elapsed since Aristotle have taught us many facts about monarchy which the Greeks could not know, and though it is perhaps not untrue to say that there was more political life in a single generation of a Greek city than in five or six centuries of mediaeval monarchy, yet there have been despotisms which have given a new vigour

¹ Plato, *Laws*, v. 738 E: οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.

to a nation. Government by one man is after all a form of government, and at times a necessary form. An oligarchy may become corrupt, or a democracy may become unmanageable, and under these circumstances a despotism may be a wholesome corrective. Or a few years of despotic rule may bring to the birth a change of which centuries have been in labour. It was so with Alexander, who turned the tide of civilisation eastward; it was so with Napoleon; and in a less degree with Caesar. But these were phenomena out of the range of Greek speculation. The Greeks had little idea of progress. They could not understand that a nation, in order to be progressive, must break with the past in one way or another, and that the breach is often made most rapidly and effectually by a despotism.

We may further notice, as not without an effect on the Greek views of tyranny, (1) that the Greek character was marked by an intense personal ambition, and an intense personal jealousy. Any eminent man was a possible tyrant, and everyone suspected him of the wish to become one. (2) The Greek tyrannies were also on such a small scale, that private and public life were confounded. In this respect they resemble the Italian despotisms, and the results were similar. But in tyranny on a large scale we can separate the private life of the despot from his public actions. The domestic iniquity of Napoleon may gratify a taste for scandal, but we can leave it out of sight in estimating his place in the history of the world.

EXCURSUS XI.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

V. 94.

1. THE traditional date of Solon's archonship is 594 B.C., and the traditional story relates that he left Athens for ten years after his legislation in order to avoid the necessity of altering his laws, owing to the complaints of his citizens. This date—within a year or two—and this story are confirmed by the newly discovered treatise of Aristotle, in which we are told that Solon did leave Athens for the reasons mentioned (cc. 11, 13); and that the first tyranny of Peisistratus, which fell in the archonship of Comeas (560 B.C.), was established thirty-one years after the legislation of Solon, which therefore fell in 591 B.C. (c. 14)¹. The difference between 594 and 591 may be due to an oversight, or to the fact that Solon's legislation occupied more than one year, which is by no means improbable.

On this calculation the ten years of Solon's absence from Athens would fall in 591–581 B.C. But Herodotus tells us that in the years of absence after his legislation Solon visited Croesus the King of Lydia (i. 29 Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύουσι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο). The usual date given for the fall of Sardis is 546 B.C., and as Croesus reigned fourteen years, his accession falls in 560 B.C., twenty years after the period in which Solon was absent from Athens.

¹ See Kenyon, *ad loc.*; in Kaibel's edition the numeral is corrected.

Again, Solon is said to have obtained his law of *ἀργία*—i.e. his law compelling every citizen to show how he obtained his living—from Amasis of Egypt (ii. 177 Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο). But Amasis after a reign of forty-four years died shortly before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, in 525 B.C. The accession of Amasis therefore cannot be put earlier than 570 B.C., which is nearly ten years after the limit allowed for Solon's travels. And, moreover, the legislation of Solon was completed not later than 591 B.C., i.e. twenty years before the accession of Amasis.

Once more, Solon is said to have visited Philocyprus, the prince of Soli, and to have aided him with his counsel in refounding his city. If this visit is to be placed in the years of travel after the legislation, it falls of course within 591–581 B.C. But we find Aristocyprus, the son of this Philocyprus, on the throne of Soli at the revolt of Cyprus from Persia in 497 B.C. This requires about ninety years for the two reigns, and we do not know how long Philocyprus had been on the throne at the time of Solon's visit, or how old Aristocyprus was when he fell in battle against the Persians. The period is not impossible: a prince might succeed at the age of twenty and reign sixty years; his son might be thirty at the date of his death and reign for forty years after him. In such a case we should have a century for the two reigns, but such a case is not very probable.

In each of these three instances we have reason to believe that Herodotus is not following the traditional date of Solon. To justify his synchronisms the date of the travels must be brought some twenty years nearer to the middle of the century.

2. Remembering that Herodotus is our oldest authority for the events of the sixth century, we might feel inclined to reconstruct our chronology upon his statements, but when we follow the subject further we find that this is impossible.

(a) In speaking of the rise of Peisistratus Herodotus tells us that he owed his influence with the people in a large measure to the renown which he had won in connection with the conquest of Nisaea (i. 59). As Herodotus gives no date for the conquest,

we need not suppose that he is referring to the war between Athens and Megara which preceded the legislation of Solon—and there is the less reason for this because Aristotle, who gives the same account of the rise of Peisistratus, points out the difficulties which attend the story that Peisistratus was already a general at the beginning of the sixth century (*Ath. Pol.* c. 17, see Kenyon's note on p. 37). On the other hand, we might maintain that in this case, as in the others, the Solonian legislation has to be brought down twenty years, and it then becomes quite possible that Peisistratus, who died an old man in 527 B.C., took part in a war with Megara before Solon's archonship, even though he may not have been general, as Herodotus says.

(b) But when we turn to another event in the life of Peisistratus we find Herodotus in complete confusion. In v. 94 Peisistratus is said to have taken part in a war between Athens and Mytilene for the possession of Sigeum, which he captured and placed under the command of Hegesistratus, his son by an Argive woman. Hegesistratus was subsequently involved in conflicts with the Mytilenaeans—conflicts in which Alcaeus the Lesbian poet lost his shield—and the war was finally brought to an end by the intervention of Periander. As Periander died in 585 B.C., and Hegesistratus was not born till after 560 B.C.—for not till his tyranny did Peisistratus enter into relations with Argos—it is obvious that Herodotus has here made a great mistake. A war in the first twenty years of the century is confounded with a war in the second half of it. Two generations are thrown together: the generation in which Peisistratus was a young man, and that in which his son was a young man. With such a blunder before us we begin to doubt whether we can construct chronology on the statements of Herodotus.

(c) A similar blunder is found in the story of Alcmaeon the father of Megacles. We are told in vi. 125 that the Alcmaeonidae reached a greater position than ever owing to the successes of Alcmaeon and his son Megacles. Megacles married Agariste the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, but, in the 'generation before' this, Alcmaeon had been enriched by Croesus for befriending the Lydians who came to consult

the oracle of Delphi at the bidding of the Lydian monarch. This order of events is very puzzling. As we have seen, Croesus did not ascend the throne till 560 B.C.; but Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, who married Agariste, has a daughter old enough to become the wife of Peisistratus, at the time of his second tyranny circ. 550 B.C.! His marriage then cannot have been later than 565, if so late. It is therefore very difficult to see how the enrichment of Alcmaeon can have preceded the marriage of his son by a generation, while it is impossible to bring down the date of the marriage owing to the relations between Megacles' daughter and Peisistratus.

(d) Again, in iii. 48, we are told that the Samians put an insult on the Corinthians about the time of the theft of a certain bowl by the Samians. This bowl was sent by the Lacedaemonians to Croesus, shortly before the fall of Sardis in 546 B.C., but the 'insult' spoken of must have occurred in the reign of Periander, i.e. before 585 B.C. The confusion is made worse by the fact that the Samians, just before they stole the bowl of the Lacedaemonians, stole a corslet which Amasis was sending to the Lacedaemonians. As we know, Amasis did not ascend the throne of Egypt till 570—fifteen years after the death of Periander.

From these examples it seems clear that Herodotus was not in possession of any accurate chronology for the sixth century; and it would therefore be a mistake to attempt to reconstruct the traditional chronology on the basis of his statements. On the other hand we have the authority of Thucydides (vi. 59) for asserting that the Peisistratidae were expelled from Athens in the 20th year before the battle of Marathon, i.e. in the year 510 B.C., and the authority of Aristotle for asserting that the tyranny continued forty-nine years. This brings us to the year 560–559 for the first tyranny of Peisistratus. The legislation of Solon is placed more than thirty-one years before this date (*Ath. Pol.* c. 14), which brings us to 591 B.C. for Solon's archonship. It is true that the various accounts of the tyranny involve us in some difficulties, but this chronology seems to be correct within a year or two.

EXCURSUS XII.

THE WORSHIP OF HEROES.

V. 104.

1. NOTHING satisfactory can be said about the derivation of the word ἥρως. The ancients connected it with Eros (Plato, *Crat.* 398 D), or with ἔρα (earth), or with Hera as goddess of the earth. Modern etymologists naturally point to the similarity to the German word *Herr* (Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 16. 7).

In Homer the word seems to be used in a general sense to denote the freeman as opposed to the slave. Thus we have the expressions ἥρως Δαναοί, ἥρως Ἀχαιοί, of the whole Grecian host; the ἀγορά is the meeting-place of the 'heroes' (*Il.* xix. 34; *Od.* vii. 44). The word is applied specially—but why, we cannot say—to Demodocus the minstrel (*Od.* viii. 443), and Mulus the herald (*Od.* xviii. 423). There is no proof that the word has any connection in sense with διογενής or ἡμίθεος, though it is not, of course, inconsistent with those epithets. Nor is there any trace of the use of the word in the feminine.

2. When we turn to Hesiod, we find that the use of the word has been greatly modified. In the *Works and Days* 156 ff. the heroes form a definite age in the declining series, by which mankind have passed from the golden age to the age of iron. They are the fourth in order, though not in merit; they are those who fought at Troy for Helen, and at Thebes for the flocks of Oedipus, a just and warlike race, superior to the men of bronze who preceded them. If we may take Hesiod's words strictly, the heroes fall into two classes: some were subject to death; but

others were carried away to the limits of the earth, apart from men and gods, to the Islands of the Blest, where, thrice in the year, the earth brings forth her increase for their use¹.

Though immortal the heroes of Hesiod are not said to be objects of worship, or to exercise any influence on the living. In this respect they are sharply distinguished from the men of the golden age, whose spirits after death become *δαίμονες*, 'guardians of men,' 'watchers over good and evil,' 'givers of wealth.' Nor are the heroes in any way connected with the under world; the men who are *μάκαρες ὑποχθόνιοι θνητοί*, and receive their due honour, are the men of the silver age.

In the poetry of Pindar the 'heroes' are brought into relation with the life after death, and retribution for evil:

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺς ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτει
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν,
ἐκ τᾶν βασιλῆες ἀγανοὶ καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφία τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αὖξοντι· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἀγνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
καλεῦνται.

In this conception heroes inherit the souls which have undergone purification; they form a class apart, distinguished by some bodily or mental excellences for which they are honoured in life and after death. Thus we approach the later conception of the word, but Pindar gives us no hint that the hero exercised an influence on the fortunes of the living after his own death.

3. It is in Herodotus that the worship of heroes is first clearly brought before us. In his time the custom is firmly established, and common throughout Greece; he draws attention to the fact that the Egyptians have no heroes (ii. 50); and distinguishes carefully between the hero and the god in the worship of Heracles (ii. 44). Among those whose worship as heroes is mentioned in his pages we may distinguish:

(a) The mythical heroes. Such are Adrastus, the hero of

¹ Such an existence is of course known to the poet of the Eleventh Odyssey, in which Teiresias promises Menelaus that he will be conveyed without death to the Elysian plain 'because he is the husband of Helen and son-in-law of the gods'; but there is no mention of 'heroes' in this connection.

Sicyon (v. 67); Astrabacus, the hero at Sparta (vi. 69); Autonous and Phylacus, the heroes of Delphi (viii. 39); Cyrenus, the hero worshipped at Elea (i. 167); the heroes of Troy (vii. 43).

(δ) The men who have received heroic honours. Such are Miltiades, the hero of the Chersonese (vi. 38); Onesilus, the hero of Amathus (v. 114); Philippus of Croton (v. 47); Artachaes of Acanthus (vii. 117); Timesius of Abdera (i. 168). Of these some have received divine honours as the founders of cities, as Miltiades and Timesius, though the latter was expelled from the city which he founded. Others were worshipped owing to some striking bodily characteristic: Philippus for his beauty; Artachaes for his magnificent stature; Onesilus because bees swarmed in his skull. They were worshipped by those who were their enemies in life, and generally at the command of an oracle.

4. In what light Herodotus regarded the worship of heroes it is difficult to determine. The worship involves the conception of a continued personal existence after death—a conception which the historian seems to treat with contempt. Certainly he would deny that any hero, who had been born a man upon earth, ever became a god, thus drawing a sharp line of distinction between the human and superhuman, the mortal and immortal. On the other hand no Greek was ever more sensitive to eminent personal qualities, or more careful to record them.

5. The worship of heroes was a worship of the dead—of underground powers. The words appropriate to it—*ἐναγίζειν*, *ἐναγίσματα*—are distinct from those appropriated to the worship of the gods, though the distinction is not always strictly preserved (Herod. ii. 44 τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ θύουσι ὡς ἀθανάτῳ, τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι, yet in v. 47 we have ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώϊον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται: cf. v. 114). Offerings to heroes, if more than drink-offerings (*χοαί*), were burnt, not eaten; there was no feast connected with the sacrifice (cf. Paus. ii. 10. 1 τοὺς μηροὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καύσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐσθίουσιν ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερείου, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἥρωι τῶν κρέων ἐναγίζουσι). Such sacrifices were also

offered after midday, when the powers of darkness might be supposed to be in the ascendant over the powers of light (Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 16. 2).

6. Other evidence from the age of Herodotus, which points to the importance attached to the worship of the dead, and the influence which the dead exercised on the fortunes of the living, will be found in the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus, and the *Electra* of Sophocles, in which offerings are brought to the tomb of Agamemnon, and his aid is invoked by both contending parties. In the sphere of practical politics we find the Spartans bringing the bones of Orestes to Sparta about the middle of the sixth century; and the Athenians bringing the bones of Theseus to Athens, soon after the beginning of the fifth century, both so far as we can tell with a view of strengthening the position which they were anxious to take up—the Spartans as leaders of the Peloponnesian confederacy, the Athenians as leaders of the Delian League¹.

¹ On the subject, see Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 16; Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* *sub voce*. The establishment of the heroes of the tribes by Cleisthenes shows how strongly felt was the necessity of combining an institution with a name, even when there could be little in common between the two.

EXCURSUS XIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE IONIAN REVOLT.

501-490 B.C.; Ol. 69. 4-72. 3.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL ABSTRACT.

B.C.

- 501. THE Naxian oligarchs apply to Aristagoras, who enters into negotiations with Artaphernes.
- 500. Spring. The Persian fleet at Naxos. Four months' siege. Aristagoras discusses the question of revolt. Arrest of the Persian generals at Myus, &c. Aristagoras at Sparta and Athens.
- 499. March upon Sardis: battle of Ephesus: return of the Athenians. The revolt spreads through Asia Minor.
- 498. Revolt of Cyprus: measures for crushing the revolt in Aeolis, Ionia, and Caria.
- 497. The revolt of Cyprus at an end. Death of Aristagoras. Histiaeus comes down from Susa to the coast.
- 496. Battle of Lade and siege of Miletus. Aeaces in Samos.
- 495. Siege of Miletus.
- 494. Fall of Miletus. Subjugation of Caria.
- 493. Death of Histiaeus. Subjugation of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. The Phoenician fleet in the Northern Aegean and the Hellespont. Miltiades returns to Athens. Artaphernes arranges the tribute in the cities of Ionia.
- 492. Mardonius made general. His disaster off Athos.
- 491. Preparations for a new invasion. Earth and water demanded from the Greeks by the heralds of Darius. Difficulties at Aegina. Subjugation of Thasos.
- 490. Battle of Marathon.

2. Those who wish to consult recent works on the chronology of the Ionian revolt, will find tables slightly differing from this in Stein, Herod. v. 33; Duncker, *Gesch. Alt.* vii. p. 30, n. 2; Kaegi, *Kritische Geschichte des Spartanischen Staates*, Leipzig, 1873. Busolt, *G. G.* ii. 26, n. 2, agrees with Stein. Curtius, vol. i. 615 ff., differs from other writers in minor details, but especially in putting the battle of Lade in 494 B.C.

Our sole authority is Herodotus, who is sometimes clear, and sometimes almost hopelessly obscure. He mentions a sequence of years once or twice, and then disregards chronology altogether; see vi. 31, 46, 95.

Assuming that the battle of Marathon was fought in 490 B.C., we have to work back from this to the beginning of the revolt. In vi. 95, we are told that preparations were made for the invasion in the year preceding the battle, i.e. in 491 B.C., and that the expedition sailed across the Aegean to avoid the disaster which had befallen Mardonius in the year before the preparations began, i.e. in 492 B.C. (if this is the meaning of τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει in vi. 95, end). We are also told that Darius had received the reports of his messengers before ordering the campaign of 490 B.C., i.e. they returned to him in 491 B.C.; vi. 94. They were sent in the same year that Thasos was reduced; and in the same year orders were given for the preparations against Greece (vi. 48), i.e. in 491 B.C. This was the year after Mardonius' disaster, which therefore took place in 492 B.C. Mardonius set out in the spring (vi. 43), but did not reach Athos till late. In the year before Mardonius' campaign, Artaphernes had arranged the tribute, &c., in Ionia (vi. 42), an arrangement partly undone by Mardonius. This, then, was in 493 B.C. In the same year the Phoenician fleet carried fire and sword to the islands and Northern Aegean (vi. 31 ff.), and as this year is described as the year after the fall of Miletus (vi. 31), we may assume that Miletus fell in 494 B.C. Herodotus tells us that Miletus fell in the sixth year of the revolt, so that the date of the revolt is 499 B.C. Whether Herodotus dates from the attack on Sardis, or from the arrest of the Persian generals,

is not clear. I have assumed the former, as being the first act which roused the resistance of the Persians.

We may assume that Aristagoras was killed at Myrcinus in 497 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 102; sixty years before the founding of Amphipolis in 437 B.C.). This event is mentioned by Herodotus in the last chapter of the fifth book. Between it and the end of 494 B.C. we get the following incidents:—

Histiaeus comes to Sardis, whence he retires to Chios, and attempts to get up a conspiracy at Sardis. Failing in this, he attempts to enter Miletus, but is repulsed; he goes back to Chios, thence to Mytilene, and finally establishes himself at Byzantium with some Lesbians, and blockades the strait, vi. 1-5.

Then follows the account of the battle of Lade, vi. 6-16; and in c. 18, the account of the capture of Miletus, which is taken in the sixth year of the revolt. In c. 26 Histiaeus returns to Chios, and with the aid of the Lesbians, visits his wrath on the Chians (he has heard what has happened about Miletus), and from Chios he goes (c. 28) with other Aeolians and his Lesbians to Thasos. From this place, hearing of the advance of the Phoenicians, he retires to Lesbos; thence to Atarneus, where he is taken captive (493 B.C.).

We seem to have here the events of three years, 496, 495, and 494 B.C., but Herodotus creates confusion by speaking in the same breath of the battle of Lade and the capture of Miletus. In vi. 25 we are told that Aeaces was taken to Samos after the 'sea-fight about Miletus'; and in the same chapter that Caria was subdued after the 'capture of Miletus.' He tells us, indeed, that Miletus held out after the battle, but he does not say how long the siege lasted. His language in vi. 18 would lead us to suppose that it did not last long (hence Curtius puts the battle of Lade in 494 B.C.). But in vi. 6 we are told that the fleets gathered at Miletus about the time when Histiaeus went to Byzantium, i.e. not long after his return to the coast, which, again, is soon after the death of Aristagoras in 497 B.C.; and that the Cyprian fleet joined the Persians after its defeat at Cyprus (vi. 6). Now the Cyprians enjoyed freedom for a year. The latest date at which we can put their revolt is 498 B.C.,

for it followed very soon after the battle of Ephesus in 499 B.C. (v. 104; we may allow some months for the plans and efforts of Onesilus); hence they were crushed in 497 B.C. The battle of Lade, then, would seem to have been fought in 496 B.C., and the siege of Miletus lasted through the whole of 495 into 494 B.C. The Phoenician fleet did not leave the Southern Aegean till the spring of 493 B.C.

Miletus, then, fell in 494 B.C.; the revolt, i.e. the burning of Sardis, took place in 499 B.C. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Athenians sent their ships in the spring, not in the late autumn, and as there was an interval between his leaving Athens and the despatch of the ships (v. 98), Aristagoras was at Athens in the year before the burning of Sardis, i.e. in 500 B.C., in the same year as the failure at Naxos. Finally, we know that the Persian fleet was sent to Naxos in the spring after Aristagoras made his application to Artaphernes, v. 31. Hence 501 B.C. is the date of the application of the oligarchs to Aristagoras.

These dates are not improbable, but it is obvious that from the year 494 B.C. upwards, with the possible exception of the death of Aristagoras, we have nothing fixed but the interval between the fall of Miletus and the outbreak of the revolt—and even here it is not quite certain from which point the outbreak is dated.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΗΣ

Z.

IONIA. B.C. 497 (?); Ol. 70. 4.

Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας οὕτω τέ- 1
 λευτᾷ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος Sardis :
 ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδεις. ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Histiaeus
 τῶν Σούσων εἶρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος and Artaphernes.
 5 κατὰ κοῖόν τι δοκέοι Ἰωνας ἀπεστάναι. ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέ-
 ναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ γεγονὸς ὥς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν
 παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης
 ὀρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκείην τῆς
 ἀποστάσιος, “ οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαῖε ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ
 10 πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπε-
 δήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης.” Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς 2
 τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δείσας ὥς συν-
 ιέντα Ἀρταφρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα
 ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρείον ἐξηπατηκῶς

1. 2. Ἰστιαῖος. Cf. v. 108.
4. Ἀρταφρένης, κ.τ.λ. Cf. v. 25.
5. κατὰ κοῖόν τι. Cf. v. 3. 6 κατὰ τοῦτο, *infr.* 3. 2 κατ’ ὅ τι, 44 *ult.*
9. τοι = σοι.
10. With the simile cf. v. 105. 4 τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην.

2. 1. ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα. ἔχειν ἐς, φέρειν ἐς, are Herodotean phrases for ‘touching on,’ ‘bearing on,’ ‘relating to’ (*infr.* c. 42. 2).
3. ὑπὸ τήν, κ.τ.λ. ‘in the night next following.’ Herodotus often uses ὑπό in this context; cf. ix. 51. 19 ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην.
4. Δαρείον . . . 7. Δαρείον. For the repetition of the proper name, see *infr.* 23. 16 and note.

IONIA. B.C. 497 (?); Ol. 70. 4.

Histiaeus
at Chios.

ὃς Σαρδῶν νῆσον^a τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργά- 5
σασθαι^b ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πρὸς
Δαρείου πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων,
καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα
ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν
πάντα λόγον, ὥς πολέμιος εἶη βασιλεί, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν.¹⁰
3 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος
κατ' ὃ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ
ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Ἰω-
νας ἐξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ

^a νήσων PR; cf. v. 106 *ult.*^b κατεργάσεσθαι P. Krüg.

5. Σαρδῶ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. v. 106 *ult.*,
note.

ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι.
Krüger reads κατεργάσεσθαι. The
same question arises in i. 24. 16,
where Stein has ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν
κατεργάσασθαι, Krüger, κατεργάσε-
σθαι. In these cases the change of a
letter makes the difference between
the aorist and future. In cases where
the tenses are more distinct, the
evidence is strongly in favour of the
future, iv. 134 ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων
ποιήσιν ταῦτα, viii. 102. 5 ὑποδέκεται
ποιήσιν, ix. 12. 5 ὑποδεξάμενοι
σχήσιν. The temptation to read
the future in every case is therefore
very strong. Nevertheless it is pro-
bably right to allow both aorist and
future, for the same variation occurs
with verbs of similar meaning, e.g.
ἐν νόφ' ἔχειν is found with the
present, aorist and future infinitive.
See Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§ 100, 136.
See notes on ἀναβάλλομαι v. 49 *ult.*:
ἐκδύσασθαι v. 106. 31.

6. τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ
πρὸς. For the double genitive cf.

infr. 67. 1 Δημαράτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν
τῆς βασιλείης, etc.

9. ἐκ, 'at the instigation of,' viii.
80 ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ
Μήδων.

τὸν πάντα λόγον, 'the whole
truth.'

3. 3. κακὸν τοσοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.
Herodotus regards the revolt as a
great evil, cf. v. 97. 19 αὐται δὲ αἰ-
νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησί τε
καὶ βαρβάροισι. And as a fact the
Ionians were never again so pros-
perous. Under the Athenian empire
Chios and Lesbos, which sent 180
ships to Lade, seem to have had but
50 ships or a few more between
them; and the intellectual eminence
of the Ionian cities disappears en-
tirely.

4. τὴν γενομένην αἰτίην = τὴν
ἑοῦσαν αἰτίην cf. *infr.* 50. 12, v. 106.
22.

αὐτοῖσι, with ἐξέφαινε. For the
order of words cf. *infr.* 50. 7 ἄνευ
γὰρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοινού. οὐ
μάλα = 'not at all.' So οὐ πάνν.
The qualifying adverb often follows,

IONIA. B.C. 497 (?); Ol. 70. 4.

5 μάλα ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος
ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ
κατοικίσαι, Ἰωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ τούτων εἵ-
νεκα ἐπιστείλει. οὐδέν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλέος βου-
λευσαμένου ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας.^a

Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος Ἑρμίπ- 4
που ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνείτεω τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περ-
σέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ἀπο-
στάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπε-
5 πέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρ-
ταφρένῃ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν
Ἑρμιππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα

He
attempts
to excite
a revolt at
Sardis.

^a ante οὐδέν supplet Reiske ὁ μὲν δὴ: ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας del. Dobr.:
δειματῶν Krüg.

οὐδέν τι πάντως *infr.* 1. 8, χρήσιμα
κάρτα 42. 3, πολλὸν κάρτα 43. 4,
ξεινίους τὰ μάλιστα v. 63.

5. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε, κ.τ.λ. Cf. i. 185,
iv. 204, v. 14 and *supr.* c. 20.
By occupying Ionia with Phoeni-
cians, Darius would secure for him-
self absolute command of the Ana-
tolian coast; and on the other hand,
the Ionians, if placed in Phoenicia,
would be beyond the reach of their
countrymen.

8. ἐπιστείλει, sc. ὁ Ἰστιαῖος. The
optative follows somewhat loosely
on ἔλεγε ὡς and is used as in oratio
obliqua. οὐδέν τι πάντως, cf. v. 65.
1; 92. 9, 14 and note, 'in no way
whatever.' The asyndeton here is
certainly harsh, and a number of
emendations have been proposed
(see crit. note), but similar harshness
is found, *infr.* 21. 7, 52. 16.

4. 1. δι' ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος
Ἑρμίππου. The unusual phrase is

supported by viii. 134 διὰ χρηστηρίων
ποιεύμενος.

2. Atarneus was a tract of land on
the continent opposite Lesbos. It
was given to the Chians by Cyrus,
as a reward for surrendering Pactyes,
Herod. i. 160. Histiaeus was cap-
tured there; *infr.* 28 f.

3. ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων. The
word is masculine, not neuter; and
ὡς does not imply doubt, as in
ὡς δῆθεν i. 6, but gives the reason
for the messages being sent. For
the construction, in which a dative
is followed by a genitive, both cases
referring to the same subject, cf. i. 3.
8 τοὺς δὲ προισχομένων ταῦτα προφέ-
ρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἄρπαγὴν, where
προισχ. and σφι refer to the same
persons. λεσχηνεύεσθαι is a word
found in Ionic writers of the fifth
and sixth centuries (Heraclitus,
Democritus, Hippocrates) and in
later authors (Appian).

MILETUS. B.C. 499; Ol. 71. 1.

τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοίβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα πολλοὺς Περσέων 10 ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

Failing to enter Miletus, he seizes Byzantium.

5 Περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίοι κατήγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι, ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, 5 οἷα ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι. καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ εὐσσης βίῃ ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς^a τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους 10 ὥστε ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην καὶ ἔπειθε Λεσβίους δοῦναί οἱ νέας. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα

^a ἐκ τῆς Pr.

9. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν. Neuter rather than masculine, 'Als auf diese Weise die Sache offenkundig geworden war.' Bähr.

5. 2. κατήγον, imperfect of the attempt, which failed, *infr.* 10. κατα- is idiomatic in the sense of 'returning home,' cf. κατιῶν *infr.* 1. 7, 22. 5, 41. 3, 17, but Herodotus sometimes uses ἀπο- ('back'), ἀπονοστεῖν 27. 5, ἀπελθόντων v. 79. 5, ἄπιτε *infr.* 97. 11.

7. ἐπειράτο κατιῶν. The common construction in Herodotus, cf. *infr.* 9. 16; 84. 9.

9. ἀπωστός, a word used by Sophocles, Aj. 1020 ἀπωστὸς γῆς.

10. ἔπειθε, just below ἔπεισε, the

difference of tenses, marking the difference between failure and success. For πείθειν ὥστε see v. 105.

4. We have no means of ascertaining the relations which prevailed between the Asiatic cities at this time, but from the context we should conclude that the Lesbians were jealous of the Chians and Milesians. Moreover they were Aeolians, while the Chians were Ionians. So in the battle of Lade, the Lesbians are treacherous; the Chians are patriotic. Yet we are astonished to find that the Lesbians gain nothing by their conduct. Was their complicity with Histiaeus remembered against them?

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

δὲ ἰζόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεύσας τῶν νεῶν
 15 ἐλάμβανον, πλὴν ἣ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἔτοι-
 μοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι.

Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα. 6
 ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς^a πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν
 στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἤλαυνον
 5 ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τᾶλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσοнос ποιη-
 σάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμό-
 τατοι, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμ-
 μένοι καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν 7
 Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο.^b Ἴωνες
 δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων
 αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον
 5 τὸν χώρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν
 μὴ^c συλλέγειν ἀντίξοον Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ρύ-

The Per-
 sian fleet
 assembles
 at Miletus.

^a ναυτικός τε St.

^b ἐστράτευον A B C; cf. *infr.* 108. 21.

^c μηδένα P R, St.

15. ὅσοι αὐτῶν, i.e. the owners of the ships, or the nations from which they came. The blow was aimed at the Milesians, who traded greatly with the Pontus; see *infr.* 26. 3.

6. 3. οἱ στρατηγοί. Artaphernes, Otanes, and perhaps Harpagus; cf. v. 123; *infr.* 28.

7. 3. προβούλους. 'Commissioners.' In the same manner in the autumn of 481 B.C. the patriotic Greeks sent πρόβουλοι to the Isthmus of Corinth to discuss the best means of defence, vii. 172. 5 ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν. Quite distinct are the Probouli

sometimes chosen to administer the affairs of a city; cf. Thuc. viii. 1 ἀρχὴν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ἦ προβουλεύσουσι.

4. ἐς Πανιώνιον. The Panionium lay on the northern slope of Mycale, three stades from the sea, on the way from the Samian Strait to Ephesus, Strabo, p. 639. It was in the keeping of the Prienians, who made the arrangements necessary for the meetings, and for the festival which was celebrated there to Poseidon. Cf. Smith, *Dict. Geog.* sub voc.

6. ἀλλὰ . . . Μιλησίους. These words are a kind of parenthesis, after which the previous subject is

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

- εσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολι-
πομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν, πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέ-
γεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς
Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος σμικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ¹⁰
8 Μιλησίων κειμένη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένῃσι τῇσι
νηυσὶ παρήσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ Αἰολέων ὅσοι ^a
Λέσβον νέμονται. ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε. τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν
ῥῶ εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδώ-
κοντα· εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνέες δώδεκα νηυσὶ καὶ ⁵
Μυήσιοι τρισὶ νηυσί, Μυησίων δὲ Τήιοι εἶχοντο
ἐπτακαίδεκα νηυσί, Τηίων δὲ εἶχοντο Χῖοι ἑκατὸν νηυ-
σί· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐρυθραῖοί τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φω-
καέες, Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαέες
δὲ τρεῖς· Φωκαέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομή- ¹⁰
κοντα· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέ-
ρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσί. πάντων δὲ τούτων
ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
9 τριηκόσiai τριήρεις. αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ
βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσiai. ὥς δὲ

The
Ionian
fleet at
Lade.

^a ὅσοι τὴν Λέσβον St.: ὅσοι τὴν αἰολίδα γῆν A B C: οἱ Λέσβον R, Krüg., alii.

resumed. But instead of the dative (βουλευομένοις) we have the accusative (ὑπολιπομένους), because what is said is part of the resolution and goes with the infinitive πληροῦν.

10. The island of Lade is now joined to the mainland by the alluvial deposits of the Maeander. In 412 B.C. it formed the station of the Athenian fleet, at the time when Miletus revolted. In 334 B.C. it was occupied by Alexander (Arrian, *An.* i. 18. 4); in the time of Strabo

it had become a nest of pirates (p. 635).

8. 2. ὅσοι Λέσβον νέμονται. The Aeolian cities on the mainland had been crushed, see v. 123. So also Clazomenae, *ibid.*; Ephesus, Colophon and Lebedus, of the Ionic cities, took no part whatever in the revolt.

12. πάντων τούτων, the masc. refers to the crews which manned the vessels; cf. αὐτῶν *supr.* 5. 15. There is no need to read πασέων τουτέων.

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καὶ αὐταὶ ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζός
 σφι ἅπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυ-
 5 θόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ
 οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν
 Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἔόντες ναυκράτο-
 ρες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακόν τι λαβεῖν.
 ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυ-
 10 ράννους, οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου κατα-
 λυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους, ἐτύγχανον
 δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε·
 “ ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν
 15 βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πο-
 λιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ.
 προῖσχύμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὥς πείσονταιί τε
 ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδέ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ
 οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὐδὲ βιαιότερον ἔξουσι οὐδὲν

Persian
overtures
refused by
the Greeks.

9. 7. οὔτε οἰοί τε ἔωσι μὴ οὐκ ἔόντες. Cf. vi. 106 *ult.* οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἔόντος τοῦ κύκλου, ii. 110. 11 οὐκὼν δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι μὴ οὐ ὑπερβαλλόμενον. The preceding negative is necessary; at least we find no instance in which it does not occur. Otherwise μὴ οὐ seems = μή. Goodwin, *Syntax*, § 818, says ‘μὴ οὐ is occasionally used with participles in negative sentences in place of the simple μή to express a negative condition.’ Besides Herod. and Soph. (*O. T.* 12, 220; *O. C.* 359), Plato, *Lys.* 212 D, Demosth. 58. 13, Philem. *Fr.* 213 are the passages quoted.

10. καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων, cf. v. 37 f. and *infr.* 43. 2.

11. ἔφευγον, not merely ‘went over to,’ but ‘remained in exile with.’ Hence the imperfect, cf. v. 104. 12 ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους. ἐς Μήδους. On the use of the word cf. v. *l. c.* note. In iii. 136. 10 Phoenician ships, with Persians on board, are nevertheless Μηδικαί.

17. προῖσχύμενοι, sc. τὴν ἀπόστασιν. The proposal to abandon the alliance was to be accompanied with promises, etc.

19. οὐδὲ βιαιότερον, κ.τ.λ. This does not mean that they had been previously oppressed; translate, ‘they should not be oppressed, any more than they had been previously’; i. e. ‘should be treated as before.’

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

ἢ πρότερον εἶχον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ^a ποιήσουσι, οἱ δὲ²⁰ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἤδη σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες, τά περ σφέας κατέξει, ὥς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὥς σφεων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα,
 10 καὶ ὥς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν.” οἱ μὲν δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε,^b τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἐωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἰῶνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο αὐταὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην,⁵ ἐωυτοῖσι δὲ ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι.

Dionysius
of Phocaea.

11 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συλληχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ δὴ κού σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρα-

^a μή P R.^b ταῦτα P R.

20. εἰ . . . οὐ. See Goodwin, *Syntax*, § 384 f., esp. § 387. When the negation is more important than the condition there is a tendency to substitute οὐ for μή. Cf. vii. 10. θ. 11, vii. 16. 15, *infr.* 133. 10.

22. τά περ, κ.τ.λ., ‘which will assuredly overtake them.’ ἐπηρεάζοντες is here thought to have the unusual sense of ‘threatening’; but may it not mean ‘stating the outrages’?

24. ἀνασπάστους, sc. ποιήσομεν, *infr.* 32. Bactria is mentioned as being a remote province.

10. 2. τάδε refers to what goes before, ‘as often in Herodotus,’ Stein.

3. ἐξαγγελλόμενος. Naber suggests ἐπαγγελλόμενος = ‘making a re-

quest’; cf. vii. 1. 6 ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους. The word ἐπαγγ. points to the person to whom the message is sent; ἐξαγγ. to the source from which it comes, *infr.* 1. 7, 26. 3.

4. ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο, ‘persisted in their resolution.’ The same words are used of the Aeginetans in their conduct towards Epidaurus, v. 83. 5. Here they can hardly be intended to convey much blame, for the opposite course implied treachery (προδοσίην). Yet, as we have said, Herodotus had no sympathy with the Ionian revolt.

11. 1. ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, i. e. into the territory of Miletus: so Athens is put for Attica, v. 76 *ult.* Cf. vii. 1. 4.

4. ἡγορόωντο. The epic form, if

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

5 τηγὸς Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε. “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς
 ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευ-
 θέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὡς δρηπέτησι· νῦν
 ὧν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε τάλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι,
 τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἷοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε
 10 ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ
 μαλακίῃ τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσησθε^a, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων
 ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην βασιλεί τῆς ἀπο-
 στάσιος. ἀλλ’ ἐμοί τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς
 ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων,
 15 ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίξιν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμί-
 σγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι^b.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ 12
 Ἴωνες ἐπιτράπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ
 ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέ-

^a διαχρήσεσθε P R, Krüg., alii.^b ἐλασσώσεσθαι P R, Krüg., alii.

correct, may be used with special reference to the Ionians: but cf. iv. 191. 4 κομόωσι.

5. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς. The expression is as old as Homer, *Il.* x. 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς. Cf. Theognis, 557 P κίνδυνός τοι ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς. Herodotus seems to be unique in substituting ἔχεται for ἵσταται, for which cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1140 βιαίας ἔχεται ἐπὶ νόσου.

10. εἰ δὲ . . . διαχρήσησθε. For the expression cf. *supr.* 10. 5. The use of εἰ with the subjunctive in future conditions is of course Homeric; and instances are found in the Attic drama: e.g. Soph. *O. C.* 1443 εἴ σου στερηθῶ. In Thuc. vi. 21 we have εἰ ξυστῶσιν αἱ πόλεις, where ἦν is found in inferior MSS. only. There is therefore no need to deny the construction to Herodotus.

Yet in almost every instance the MSS. vary, A B C supporting the subjunctive, while in P R s εἰ is changed to ἦν, or the future is substituted for the subjunctive. Cf. Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 6.

14. θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων. The same phrase occurs *infr.* 109. 26. Compare the striking remark in viii. 13. 9 ἐποιέετο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν. In these passages Herodotus conceives of a divine power which is supreme over the deities of the various nations.

12. 3. ἐπὶ κέρας. For the accusative cf. iv. 67. 4, vi. 111. 15 ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, and the note there. The Attic rule requires the genitive, ἐπὶ κέρως. The ships sailed out in single file, but they appear to have been arranged

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

Inactivity
of the
Ionians.

τησι χρήσαιτο διέκπλοον ποιεύμενος^a τῇσι νηυσὶ δι' ἀλλή-
 λήων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέ- 5
 ρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων, παρείχε τε τοῖσι
 Ἰωσι πόνον δι' ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ
 ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίουν τὸ κελευόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ
 ταύτησι οἱ Ἰῶνες, οἷα ἀπαθείες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων
 τετρυμένοι τε τάλαιπωρήσί τε καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς 10
 ἑωυτοὺς τάδε. “τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀνα-
 πίμπλαμεν; οἷτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες
 ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεὶ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας
 τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν. ὁ δὲ παρα-
 λαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοισι, καὶ δὴ 15
 πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπί-
 δοξοι τῷτὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαί εἰσι, πρό τε τούτων τῶν
 κακῶν ἡμῖν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὅ τι ὦν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστι,
 καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληίην ὑπομεῖναι ἥτις ἔσται,

^a ποιευμένοις Krüg.

in two rows, which subsequently fronted each other, and went through their exercises. ὅκως, ‘whenever.’

4. διέκπλοον. This manoeuvre consisted in breaking the enemy’s line by charging at full speed where an opening offered between two ships. The charge, if successful, not only damaged the oarage of the enemy’s vessels, but enabled the charging ships to take the line in the rear. [Classen describes the matter differently—‘breaking the enemy’s line by a wedge,’ and then ‘wrapping up’ the two separated portions (cf. Nelson’s attack at Trafalgar), Thuc. i. 49.]

5. ὀπλίσειε, ‘caused them to be

on deck in full armour.’ The weight of the armour would be very oppressive in the heat.

7. μέχρι μὲν νυν, κ.τ.λ. It is not quite certain from the context that the days were consecutive; if they had been, one would rather expect τῇ δὲ ὁγδόῃ for τῇ ἐπὶ ταύτησι.

11. τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες; The meaning is clear, ‘quo numine laeso?’ but the expression is an extraordinary refinement on παραβαίνειν ὄρκον. ἀναπίμπλαμεν, cf. v. 4. 7.

12. ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου. In iii. 155. 13 we find ἐκπλώσαντες τῶν φρενῶν, cf. *supr.* 5. 9. var. 1. *infr.* 97. 7.

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

20 μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ
 μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, ἀλλ' οἷα στρατιῇ^a σκη-
 νὰς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκιητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσ-
 βαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ' ἀναπειρᾶσθαι.
 μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ^b γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρα- 13
 τηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλο-
 σῶντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰά-
 κης κελεύοντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενός σφεων ἐκλιπεῖν
 5 τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην· οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν ὁρῶντες ἐοῦσαν
 ἅμα μὲν^c ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς
 λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα^d τὰ
 βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὐ^e δὲ ἐπιστάμε-
 νοι ὥς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοίατο [τὸν Treachery
 10 Δαρείῳ]^f, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον· προφάσιος of the
 Samians.

^a ἀστρατηίης Dobr.^b τά om. R, Krüg., Cob., Van H.^c ἅμα μὲν ἐοῦσαν P R.^d ἀδύνατον P R.^e δέ secl. St. male.^f τὸν Δαρείον delebat Wess.: τοῦ Δαρείου Reiske.

20. συνέχεσθαι. Plato, *Gorg.* 512
 Α ἀνιάτοις νοσήμασι συνεχόμενος.

21. πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ. πείθεσθαι
 takes the genitive on the analogy of
 ὑπακούειν, cf. v. 29. 14, 33. 19, i. 126.

20. Such constructions are not un-
 common in Herodotus: e.g. πατέεσ-
 θαι takes the genitive on the analogy
 of γεύεσθαι, ii. 47. 11; iv. 186. 6;
 see *infra*. 14. 10.

22. στρατιή, 'an army.'

13. The connection is οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 τῶν Σαμίων . . . (οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν) ἐδέ-
 κοντο—ἅμα μὲν—ὁρῶντες—ἅμα δὲ
 κατεφαίνετό—εὐ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι. The
 motives of the Samians are still
 further stated in the sentence προ-
 φάσιος . . . ἴδια. Herodotus seems
 anxious to excuse the Samians, yet
 he makes no attempt to conceal the

fact that the treachery began with
 them. A similar anacoluthon, or
 resumption of the nominative, will
 be found in v. 76.

5. ὁρῶντες, κ.τ.λ. How far the
 Samians themselves were guilty of
 the ἀταξίη, which is pleaded on
 their behalf, we cannot say.

7. ἀδύνατα, plur. for sing., as
 nearly always in this word, in
 Herod.

10. πενταπλήσιον. This is, of
 course, an exaggeration; the Persian
 fleet now numbered 600 vessels, and
 the fleet with which Xerxes invaded
 Hellas, even with the Greek con-
 tingents, amounted to 1407 ships
 only. προφάσιος, i.e. making the
 want of order and training of the
 Ionians their pretext.

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

Battle of
Lade.

ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐ
 βουλομένους^a εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεῦντο περιποι-
 ῆσαι τά τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης,
 παρ' ὅτεν τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν
 Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ¹⁵
 τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρεω ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ
 14 περ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι. τότε ὧν ἐπεὶ ἐπέ-
 πλεον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς
 νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον
 ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι
 οἵτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγίνοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν⁵
 τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται· λέ-
 γονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα, κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς
 τὸν Αἰάκεα, ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς
 τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἑνδεκα νεῶν· τουτέων δὲ
 οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκουστή-¹⁰
 σαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· καί σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σα-

^a ἀρνευμένους R sv, Krüg., Van H., alii.

15. Syloson was the brother of Polycrates, the famous tyrant of Samos; he was expelled by Polycrates, and when in exile at Memphis he secured the favour of Darius, then in the body-guard of Cambyses, by a gift of a scarlet cloak (iii. 39. 139 f.). When Darius came to the throne, Syloson reminded him of this gift, and Darius in return restored him to Samos (iii. 144 ff.). This was at the time of the revolt of Babylon, i. e. quite at the beginning of the reign of Darius. Before the Scythian expedition, Syloson had been succeeded by his son Aeaces (iv. 138). Aeaces must therefore

have been seventeen or eighteen years on the throne when he was expelled with the rest of the Ionian tyrants by Aristagoras, v. 37.

14. 3. ἐπὶ κέρας. Though the ships set out in line, they must, before coming into action, have faced the enemy, and it is when they had thus changed front that the places of the various contingents on the right and left could be described. *Supr.* 12. 3.

10. ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι. The dative is due to analogy, ἀνηκουστεῖν being = ἀπειθέειν; cf. *supr.* 12. 21.

11. τὸ κοινόν. The community;

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

μίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆ-
 ναι πατρόθεν ὥς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι, καὶ
 ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέ-
 15 σβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τῶντ' ἐποίουν τοῖσι
 Σαμίοισι ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῦνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίουν τὰ
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα. τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ 15
 περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι ὥς ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔρ-
 γα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες. παρείχοντο μὲν
 γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐπ'
 5 ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λο-
 γάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας· ὀρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν
 συμμάχων προδιδόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίουν γίνεσθαι τοῖσι
 κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι, ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγων συμμάχων
 μεμουνωμένοι διεκπλέοντες ἐναυμάχουν, ἐς δὲ τῶν πο-
 10 λεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων
 τὰς πλεῦνας. Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀπο- 16

cf. *infr.* 50. 7 Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ
 κοινοῦ v. 109. 13 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν
 Ἰώνων. We cannot precisely fix the
 time at which this was done, but
 from *infr.* 22. 2 we learn that it was
 the oligarchical party at Samos which
 refused to join in the treachery,
 so that the pillar in their honour
 would be set up when the island
 was once more in the hands of the
 oligarchy, i. e. after 479 B. C.

13. πατρόθεν. The name of the
 father was only added when especial
 significance was given to a person.
 Thus, in Dittenberger, *Syll.* no. 3,
 we have a list of names of men be-
 longing to the Erechtheid tribe who
 fell in various actions in the year
 459 B. C., all without any addition.
 On the other hand, cf. *ibid.* no. 335
 στρατηγοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐπὶ

Ἡρακλείτου ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐπό-
 λεμος Ζωίλου Παιανεύς, Ζήνων Μενίσκου
 Ἐρχιεύς, Ἀρισταγόρας Τροίλου Πει-
 ραιεύς, Ἑρμείῃ ἡγεμονίῳ ἀνέθηκαν.
 Stein quotes *Il.* x. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ
 γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον. So,
 too, Thuc. vii. 69. 2 Nicias τῶν τριη-
 ράρχων ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει, πατρό-
 θεν τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ
 καὶ φυλὴν, cf. Herod. iii. 1. 22.

15. 5. τεσσαράκοντα. This was
 more than usual. On the Persian
 ships in 480 B. C., there were thirty
 epibatae; on the Athenian ships at
 Salamis, eighteen, of whom four
 were archers; cf. vii. 184. 11, Plut.
Them. 14. Later, the average num-
 ber was ten; see Arnold, Thuc. iii. 95.

7. προδιδόντας. 'playing the
 traitor'; cf. v. 113. 4.

MILETUS. B.C. 496; Ol. 71. 1.

Disasters
of the
Chians.

φεύγουσι ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν· ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ ὥς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας^a μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἐκομίζοντο⁵ διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτός τε γὰρ^b ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκούτες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ¹⁰ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Χίους.

Dionysius
in the
West.

17 Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν τοιαύτῃσι περιέπιπτον τύχησι· Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπείτε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὥς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὥς εἶχε ἔπλεε⁵ ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληιστῆς κατεστήκεε Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰω-

^a τὰς νέας? Van H.^b γὰρ add. St.

16. 2. ἀδύνατοι, 'disabled.'

4. αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. The combination is frequent in Herodotus; e. g. i. 214. 12; iii. 77. 12; *infr.* 30. 7.

8. θεσμοφορίων, i. e. the festival of Demeter Thesmophorus, at which women only were present.

11. καταδόξαντες, 'forming the opinion.' κατα- is merely intensive. See Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 22, *infr.* 97. 7.17. 4. ἀνδραποδιεῖται, middle future for passive, as *supr.* 9. 23.

5. ἰθέως ὥς εἶχε; cf. v. 64. 8 where we have ὥς εἶχον εὐθύς.

6. γαύλους. Phoenician merchantmen were to the Greeks, what Spanish vessels were to Hawkins or Drake.

18. For the chronology, see Bk. v. Appendix 13 'On the chronology of the Ionic revolt.' The battle of Lade would seem to have taken place in the year after the subjugation of Cyprus, yet the fall of Miletus must be placed in 494 B.C. It is

MILETUS. B. C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

νας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Fall of
Miletus.
494 B.C.
καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχια καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσ-
φέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης ἕκτω ἔτει^a ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπο-
5 στάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πό-
λιν, ὥστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς
Μίλητον γενομένῳ. χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελ- 19
φοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη
ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους
φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν
5 νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἔχον, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι
τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθήσομαι· τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι
οὐ παροῦσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὧδε.

καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων,
πολλοῖσιν^b δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ,
10 σαὶ δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις,
νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.
τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε

^a τετάρτῳ ἔτει H. Weissenborn.^b οἰωνοῖς Van H.

therefore difficult to escape the conclusion that Miletus was besieged for nearly two years.

3. ὑπορύσσοντες. Cf. v. 115. 9; iv. 200 where the mines at Barca are detected and met by counter-mines. Another method of attacking a city was by πρόσχωσις, i. 168.

4. κατ' ἄκρης, 'utterly.' A Homeric expression.

6. συμπεσεῖν, 'agree with,' i. e. confirm; cf. συνάδειν, συνφδός.

19. 1. This was on the occasion of the attack of Cleomenes; see *infr.* 76 f. Why the oracle should combine a prediction to Miletus with a prediction to Argos, especially as the Milesians were not present, it is

difficult to understand. Cf. however iv. 150. 8 χρεομένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν.

4. ἔχρησε, sc. ὁ θεός.

5. κατὰ τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. I. e. in c. 77.

8. Here, as in the case of Cnidus i. 174, we see the Delphian oracle on the side of the oppressor. The oracle at Didyma was of the same mind; cf. i. 158.

11. Διδύμοις, for the dative cf. Soph. *Elect.* 573 νῦν δ' ἀγροῖσι τυγχάνει. Herod. just below, 15, has ἐν Δ., and Cobet would read ἡμετέρου 'ν here.

12. ὁκότε. Krüger suggests ὅτε γε.

MILETUS. B. C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

- ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόν-
 των κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λό-
 γῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι καὶ^a ὁ νηός τε καὶ¹⁵
 τὸ χρηστήριον συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ
 ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λό-
 20 γου ἐποιησάμην. ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλη-
 σίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δέ σφεας Δαρεῖος κα-
 κὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκησε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ κα-
 λεομένη θαλάσση, ἐν ᾧ Ἀμπη πόλι, παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς
 παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρας αὐ-
 5 τοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδῖον,
 τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι.
 21 Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ

^a καὶ om. P R.

15. ἱρὸν is the whole temple of which νηός and χρηστήριον are separate parts. Stein quotes Strabo, p. 634, where the temple is described; speaking of the later temple he says ἄλλοι δὲ σηκοὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὰ ἱερά συνέχουσι.

17. πολλάκις, twice, i. 92. 8; v. 36. 15.

20. 2. Cf. *infr.* 119. 7.

3. By the Red Sea the Persian Gulf is meant; cf. iv. 39 where the 'Red Sea' is distinguished from the Arabian Gulf (which we call the Red Sea). Strabo, p. 765, makes the following distinctions: ταύτης (τῆς Ἀραβίας) τὸ μὲν προσάρκτιον πλευρὸν ἢ λεχθεῖσά ἐστιν ἔρημος, τὸ δ' ἐῷον ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος, τὸ δὲ ἐσπέριον ὁ Ἀράβιος, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἢ μεγάλη θάλαττα ἢ ἔξω τῶν κόλπων ἀμφοῖν, ἣν ἅπασαν Ἐρυθρὰν καλοῦσιν. Various reasons are given for the name, Strabo, p. 779. Some thought it

was so called from the reflection of the sun, or of the mountains reddened by the heat; Ctesias thought the water was reddened by a spring. The Persians had other legends. In Smith's *Dict. Geog.* sub voc. Rubrum Mare, we are told that 'the thick wall-like masses of coral which form the shores or fringing reefs of the cleft by which the waters of the Indian Ocean advance through the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, with their red and purple hues, were no doubt the original source of the name.'

6. τὸ πεδῖον, the plain of the Maeander.

7. Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι. It is strange that the Carians should be thus treated after their strenuous resistance; but cf. *infr.* 25. For Pedasa or Pidasum cf. i. 175 ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν. Abicht distinguishes between Πήδασα here and

MILETUS. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Λᾶόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιητέων Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἡβηδόν
 5 ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο. πόλιες γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλησι^a ἐξεινώθησαν. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἁλώσι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ
 10 ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δράμα Μιλήτου ἁλωσιν καὶ δι-

Sympathy with Miletus; Phrynichus.

^a ἀλλήλοισι A pr. B¹ P pr. R.

Πήδασον in v. 121; but cf. Smith's *Dict. Geog.*

21. 2. τὴν ὁμοίην, i. e. 'equal return.' Λᾶόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον. These were colonies of the Sybarites. Laos—the name was given to the river, city and bay—is described by Strabo, p. 253, as the last city in Lucania, 400 stadia from Velia. Of Scidrus the position is unknown. Coins of Laos occur which bear a certain resemblance to those of Sybaris.

3. Συβάριος γάρ, κ.τ.λ., i. e. in 510 B. C. See v. 44ff.; *Greek Hist.* ii. 484.

4. ἡβηδόν, i. e. all the citizens of full age. Cf. i. 172 ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν. Strachan well quotes Heraclit. *Fr.* 57 ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοισι ἡβηδόν ἀποθανεῖν πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἀνέβοισι τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, so also Diod. 3. 54 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡβηδόν ἀποσφάζει. Strictly the word means 'after the manner of the youth.'

5. πένθος προσεθήκαντο. Cf. vii. 229. 17 μῆνιν προσθέσθαι. Krüger reads *προεθήκαντο* translating 'veranstalteten öffentlich,' but for this there seems no reason.

6. πόλιες γὰρ αὗται. Similar friendships are noted between Cnidus

and Tarentum, iii. 138; Eretria and Miletus, v. 99; Samos and Chalcis, *ibid.*; Samos, Thera and Cyrene, iv. 152. We may suppose that the Milesians traded with Sybaris *via* Eretria. Sybaris took the wool of Miletus, and in return supplied the Asiatic city with the products of the distant west. See Lenormant, *Grande Grèce*, i. c. 5.

7. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως, 'very different was the conduct of the Athenians.' For the asyndeton, see *supr.* 3. 8. Krüger would read οὐδ' ἀνομοίως.

8. δῆλον ἐποίησαν = δῆλοι ᾗσαν. Krüger quotes Thuc. iii. 64. 1 δῆλον ἐποιήσατε οὐ μηδίσαντες.

9. τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ. This appears to be an unique instance of the use of τῇ ἄλλῃ in any but a local sense. For πολλαχῇ, 'on many occasions,' see i. 42. 5.

10. Φρυνίχῳ. For the dative, cf. 47. 8 τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσαντι τὸ τεῖχος κατεῖλον. This is the first instance, so far as we know, of a historical drama in Greece. Subsequently (476 B. C.) Phrynichus dramatized the overthrow of Xerxes in his *Phoenissae*, as Aeschylus did four years later in his *Persae*.

SICILY. B. C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

δάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπενε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν ὥς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκία κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῇσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ^a δράματι.

22 Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἡρήμωτο· Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι^b τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς 5 ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκεϊ δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐς Καλὴν ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ¹⁰

The loyal Samians invited to colonise Kale Acte in Sicily,

^a τῷ susp. Dobr.

^b τοῖσι παχέεσι Valck. : τι om. Schwgh.

11. ἐξημίωσαν, sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Miletus was, of course, a colony of Athens, so that her misfortunes were οἰκία to the Athenians.

12. χιλίησι δραχμῇσι, about £35.

13. ἐπέταξαν. This prohibition implies that it was already the custom for the plays of famous poets to be brought on the stage by others than the author, when no new play of sufficient excellence was forthcoming—a custom which we hear of in the fourth century in reference to the three great tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. This difficulty, if it is one, is avoided if with Dobree we omit τῷ ('use this,' i.e. the capture of Miletus, 'as a subject for a drama').

22. 1. ἡρήμωτο. Yet in 479 B.C. Miletus is again in the possession of the Ionians; cf. ix. 99. In the parallel case of Samos, iii. 149, the exiles were brought back, but we are not told

that this was the case at Miletus.

2. τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι. Stein seems to distinguish οἱ τι ἔχοντες from οἱ ἔχοντες as individual persons of means from the class of the rich, and this view is supported by Van Herwerden: 'fieri potest ut scriptor eam voculam de industria addiderit, quo significaret non solum divites, sed omnino eos quibus aliquid esset pretiosi, novas sedes petivisse'; *Mnemos.* xiii. 29.

5. ἀπικέσθαι, 'return'; cf. *supr.* 5. 2.

7. οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης. ἀπό is due to the usual Greek attraction; cf. *infr.* 46. 10 τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης μετάλλων.

8. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. So *infr.* 27. 7; 51. 1, v. 106. 3.

9. Καλὴ ἀκτὴ was a district on the north shore of Sicily, a part of the island which was not occupied by Greek colonies. See Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. 143.

10. Ἰώνων. The inhabitants of

SICILY. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τε-
 τραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τούτων ὧν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ
 Σάμιοι μούνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δέ σφι Μιλη-
 σίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δῆ τι συνήνεικε γε-
 νέσθαι. Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο 23
 ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐ-
 τοί τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκύθης,
 περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι.
 5 μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε^a
 ἔων διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμίξας τοῖσι Σα- but seize
 μίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρεὼν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' Zancle on
 ἣν ἔπλεον, ἔαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐοῦσαν their way.
 ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόν-
 10 των τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο
 ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωυτῶν, ἐβοήθουν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκα-
 λέοντο Ἰπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δῆ

^a ὅστε R: ὥστε P, Schäf.

Zancle were themselves originally of Chalcidic and Ionian origin. But the arrival of the Dorians from Messenia introduced a strong Dorian element into the colony. The Ionians may have wished to strengthen their position by establishing their kinsmen in the neighbourhood.

12. (1) The construction is ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, τῆς δὲ Σικελίης, τῆς Σικελίης being in 'apposition' to Σικελῶν, and both depending on Καλὴ ἀκτὴ. So Wesseling and Schaefer; *infr.* 27. 8, 47. 5. (2) The genitive τῆς Σικελίης may be taken closely with the preceding words; cf. i. 84. 17 ἔστι δὲ (τὸ χωρίον) πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος, and perhaps Soph. *Ajax*, 659 γαίης ὀρύξας ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται. The first is right.

13. μούνοι Ἰώνων. The expression is qualified by what follows, and apparently it should be qualified still more; cf. Thuc. vi. 5 ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν (οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι) οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελίᾳ.

14. ἐν ᾧ, 'in which transaction.'

23. 3. ὁ βασιλεὺς. Below, l. 15, he is called μούναρχος, and so 24. 1; cf. v. 44. 2 note. The son of this Scythes, Cadmus, seems to have recovered his father's throne for a time; cf. vii. 163.

5. For Anaxilaus see *Greek Hist.* ii. 498. At a later time he acquired Zancle for himself.

12. Hippocrates was tyrant of Gela 498-491 B. C; cf. vii. 154 f.

SICILY. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκρά-
της σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν
μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὥς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν¹⁵
ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθο-
γένεα ἐς Ἰνυκα^a πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὄρκους
δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἦν εἰρημέ-
νος ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀν-²⁰
δραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ
δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεια λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν
δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ
εἶχε δῆσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε
τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάξαι· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίη-²⁵
σαν ταῦτα. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ
τῆς Ἰνυκος ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς Ἰμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης πα-
ρῇν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον.
καί μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρεῖος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον
εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν·⁵

Scythes.

^a Ἰνυκα St. : Ἰνυκον Libb.

15. ὥς ἀποβαλόντα. Hippocrates regarded Scythes as a vassal king who held Zancle for him, or under his authority; cf. vii. 154 where Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, and Leontini are all said to have been enslaved by him.

16. ὁ Ἴπποκράτης is redundant to a degree remarkable even in Herodotus; but cf. v. 1, 9, 62. 7, 12, 83. 1, 4, *supr.* 13. 5, 6. It is easy to omit these repeated words, but not so easy to account for their presence.

πεδήσας. Krüger and Naber (*Mnemos.* iii. 488; xiii. 72) object to this word, and suggest ἐν πέδησι

δῆσας which is no doubt good Herodotean Greek; but Sophocles *Ajax*, 676 has λύει πεδήσας.

17. ἐς Ἰνυκα πόλιν. The town lay on the river Hypsas in the S.W. of the island. Plato calls it χωρίον πάννυ σμικρόν, but nevertheless Hippias acquired twenty minae there (*Hipp. maj.* 282 E); cf. Aelian *V. H.* viii. 17; Smith, *Dict. Geog.* s.v.; Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, i. 496.

24. 4. In like manner Cadmus, the son of Scythes, was remarkable for his honesty, vii. 164. Contrast the conduct of Democedes, iii. 135 f.

SAMOS. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπύκετο
καὶ αὖτις ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς δὲ
γήραι μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι
δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην
10 Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλέατο.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομέ- 25
νην Φοίνικες κελευσάντων Περσέων κατήγον^a ἐς Σάμον
Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσῶντος, ὥς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον
σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον· καὶ Σαμίοισι μού-
5 νοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν
τῶν νεῶν ἐν^b τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ
ἱρά ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτίκα Καρίην
ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυ-
ψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο.

Aeaces
restored
to Samos.
Caria.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγένετο. Ἰστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλη- 26
σίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων
ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεύσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ
περὶ τὴν Μίλητον γερόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσπον-
5 τον ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ Ἀπολλοφάνεος
παιδὶ Ἀβυδηνῶ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον
ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε

Hecataeus
leaves
Byzantium
and attacks
Chios.

^a κατήγαγον Cob., Van H.

^b ἐν St.: τῶν ἐν Libb.: τὴν ἐν Reiske.

8. γήραι, with ἐτελεύτησε, 'of old age,' not νούσῳ.

10. περιεβεβλέατο, 'acquired.' For the pluperf. cf. *infr.* 110. 3.

25. 3. ὥς πολλοῦ, κ.τ.λ., i.e. by inducing the Samians to revolt in the battle of Lade.

4. μούνοισι. Cf. *supr.* 5. 10, note.

7. Καρίην. The Carians had previously made a stubborn resistance; see v. 121.

9. τὰς δὲ . . . προσηγάγοντο. For this return to the finite verb, cf. 13.

5 f. ὁρῶντες . . . ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετο . . . εὖ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι.

26. 3. Cf. *supr.* c. 5.

4. τὰ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχοντα. Cf. *supr.* 19. 5, 2. I note, *infr.* 42. 2. Hellespont is here used in the same wide sense as in v. 1. 3; see the note there.

IONIA. B.C. 494; Ol. 71. 3.

Misfor-
tunes of
the Chians.

ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς Χίης χώρας. τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοῦς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, οἷα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς 10 Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὁρμώ-
27 μενος. φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν, εὖτ' ἂν μέλλῃ με-
γάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνει ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήια μεγάλα ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν σφι πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνιέων ἑκατὸν δύο μῦνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα 5 αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμα-
χίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων εἰς μῦνος ἀπέφυγε. ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημήια ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 10 ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε, ἐπὶ

8. The position of the 'Hollows' is not known, but doubtless the place was somewhere on the western coast of the island. Cf. viii. 14.

10. ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης. The battle of Lade.

11. Polichne—diminutive of πόλις—is a name which frequently occurs; no definite site can be fixed.

27. 1. φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν. It is easy to supply ὁ θεός as the nominative to φιλέει, and this would agree with the sentiments which Herodotus elsewhere expresses; e.g. *infr.* l. 10. On the other hand words like δηλοῖ, δείξει are sometimes used in an impersonal and intransitive sense as e.g. in Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1261 δείξει δὴ τάχα, Herod. ix. 68. 1 δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, and this may be the construction

here. Cf. v. 124. 1.

6. ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε, 'seized and carried off,' like a wind or storm, of which the word ὑπολαβεῖν is frequently used by Herodotus. Cf. *infr.* l. 11, and c. 75. 4.

7. τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, *supr.* 22. 8.

11. ἐς γόνυ ἔβαλε. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 929 Ἀσία δὲ χθὼν αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται. What was the object of this attack on Chios is not clear, unless it was mere personal revenge on the part of Histiaeus for the refusal of the Chians to give him ships; *supr.* 5. 10. Was Histiaeus now intending to play the part of an ally of Darius, and to secure his restoration to favour? In itself such a conjecture is not impossible, but it can hardly be reconciled with the events related in the next chapter.

IONIA. B. C. 493 (?) ; Ol. 71. 4.

δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων
κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐ-
τῶν ἐποιήσατο.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον 28
ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνούς. περικατημένῳ Histiaeus
δέ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὥς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνα- at Thasos ;
πλέουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην.
5 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἠπείγετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν
στρατιήν. ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης^a οἱ τῆς στρα-
τιῆς πέρην διαβαίνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ὥς ἀμήσων
τὸν σῖτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καΐκου πε-
10 δίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖσι χωρί-
οις ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν Ἀρπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς
στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὃς οἱ ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτόν
τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρίῃ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν
πλέω διέφθειρε. ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὧδε. ὥς ἐμά- 29
χοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς in Atar-
Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ neus ; his
πολλόν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι capture
5 Ἕλλησι. τό τε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ and death.
τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ
ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρεούσαν ἀμαρτάδα
φιλοψυχίην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται· ὥς φεύγων τε κα-

^a λιμαινούσης Reiske : δειμαινούσης Libb.

28. 8. ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος. Cf. *supr.* 4. 2. The district belonged to the Chians. The plain of the Caicus is described by Strabo, p. 624, as almost the best part of Mysia.

29. 3. συνέστασαν, 'were engaged in conflict'; cf. i. 208 γινώμαι αὐται

συνέστασαν, and so vii. 170. 8 λιμῶ συνεστεῶτας.

5. τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, 'this achievement'; cf. ix. 102. 10 ὅπως ἐαυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, v. 1. 16. Gaisford and Krüger read τότε with some MSS.

8. φιλοψυχίην . . . ἀναιρέεται.

IONIA. B. C. 493(?); Ol. 71. 4.

τελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντηθήσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν¹⁰
 μετεῖς^a καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶη Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.
 30 εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς ἐξωγρήθη, ἄχθη^b ἀγόμενος παρὰ βα-
 σιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὐτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δο-
 κέειν ἐμοί, ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην· νῦν δέ μιν
 αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτὶς
 μέγας παρὰ βασιλεί γένηται, Ἀρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίων⁵
 ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν Ἀρπαγος, ὡς ἀπρίκετο ἀγόμενος
 ἐς Σάρδεις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύ-
 ρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ
 βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦ-
 τα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν¹⁰
 οὐ ζῶοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν
 τὴν Ἰστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνε-
 τείλατο θάψαι ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρ-
 σησι εὐεργέτεω.

^a μετεῖς R (sv).

‘Suscipere cupiditatem vitae, amore
 vitae capi,’ Schwgh. So we have
 ἀναιρέεσθαι γνώμην, etc.

9. κατελαμβάνετο . . . καταιρεό-
 μενος, ‘overtaken,’ ‘being seized or
 pulled down,’ ὡς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον v.
 98. 21.

30. 3. ἀπῆκε, sc. ὁ Δαρεῖος, cf. i.
 33 ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ κως
 οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο (Solon), οὔτε λόγου
 μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται
 (Croesus).

4. αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα, i. e. to
 prevent his reaching Susa.

7. τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ
 ταύτῃ. Both Stein and Abicht retain
 this reading; for αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, cp. *supr.*
 16. 4. Stein supports by numerous
 examples both the position of αὐτοῦ

^b ἀνήχθη Bredow : ἦλθε Krüg.

before σῶμα and the repetition.

10. It was a principle of the Per-
 sian Kings, according to Herodotus,
 to weigh the good and evil which
 an officer had done to the kingdom,
 and to decide by the balance; i. 137
 λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ
 μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ὑπουρ-
 γημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται.

12. περιστείλαντας εὖ. Cf. Soph.
Ant. 903 τὸ σὸν δέμας περιστέλλουσα.

13. ἑωυτῷ with εὐεργέτεω. The
 same construction is found in Euri-
 pides (*Herc. Fur.* 1252). Cf. *supr.*
 v. 31. 8. For εὐεργέτης cf. viii. 85
 Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνε-
 γράφη . . . οἱ δὲ εὐεργέται βασιλέος
 ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί.

AEGEAN. B.C. 493 (?); Ol. 71. 4.

Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαῖον οὕτω ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς 31
στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευ-
τέρῳ ἔτει ὥς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς
πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένε-
5 δον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὥς ἐκάστην αἰ-
ρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγη-
νεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος
τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηίης ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην
διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται
10 ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἶρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ
ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταῦτά, πλὴν οὐκ
ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τ' ἦν. ἐνθαῦ- 32
τα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς
τὰς ἐπηπείλησαν τοῖσι Ἰωσι στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐναν-
τία^a σφίσι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδάς

The
Persian
fleet in the
Aegean,

^a ἐστρατοπεδευμένοισι ἀντία Van H.

31. 2. τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, i. e. 493 B.C. The year of Herodotus is somewhat vague: apparently it begins with the spring. Cf. viii. 130. 4, 131, and ix. 117. 2 with ix. 121. 3 and Thuc. i. 89.

3. ἀνέπλωσε, 'set out.'

5. λάβοι, sc. ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός.

ὥς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες, 'taking them one by one': i. e. employing the whole force on each. Cf. i. 114. 10 ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσω.

6. ἐσαγήνευον, 'netted.' The account is of course an exaggeration; it would be quite impossible to 'net' the mountainous islands in the manner described. Cf. iii. 149. (In this instance the object was to render Samos ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν—but we are not told that Chios, Lesbos, or Tenedos were denuded of their in-

habitants). Plato, *Menex.* 240 B, says of the Eretrians, when conquered by the Persians, διηρευνήσατο δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι, τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ. ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια ἐλθόντες τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διαστάντες, συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας διήλθον ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀποπεφυγὼς εἶη.

11. κατὰ ταῦτά, 'in the same way.' Cf. *infr.* 42 ult.

32. 2. οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο, i. e. 'made good.' Cf. *supr.* 9. 20 ff.

3. ἐναντία. Elsewhere Herodotus uses the adjective ἐναντίος in a metaphorical sense, but as he has ἐξ ἐναντίας of locality in viii. 7. 8 there is no reason to correct the text.

HELLESPONT. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

τε τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίουν 5
ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους, καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλ-
λιστευούσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτά τε δὴ
ἐποίουν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι^a
ἱροῖσι· οὕτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἰῶνες κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον
μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων. 10

and in the
Helles-
pont.

33 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρα-
τὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἶρεε
πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι^b Πέρσησι ὑποχεί-
ρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἥπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσόνησός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλις συχναὶ 5
ἐνείσι, καὶ Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης καὶ

^a τοῖσι om. Bekk.

^b τοῖσι om. A B C.

5. ἐξέταμνον. Passages such as these enable us to realize what oriental despotism meant; cf. the story of Hermotimus of Pedasa in viii. 104 ff., and the Corcyraean boys, iii. 48. In iii. 92 we are told that Babylon and Assyria supplied annually 500 παῖδες ἐκτομῖαι to the court of Darius.

6. ἀντὶ εἶναι. For the omission of the article cf. i. 210. 8; vii. 170. 14.

8. αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. The omission of the article would be more regular; and it is omitted in Herodotus, e. g. iii. 126 ult. But in iii. 45 ult. we have αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοῖκοισι (αὐτοῖσι νεωσήκοισιν α); ib. 100. 5 αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι (τῇ om. R); in vii. 39. 6 αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί (τῇ om. P R); *infra*. 93. 3. The article is undoubtedly found in Attic in this idiom.

10. ἐπεξῆς, i. e. without any other conquest coming between. The first conquest was by Cyrus. In a

similar manner Herodotus enumerates the Dorian invasions of Attica v. 76, and in ix. 104 ult. we have: οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

33. 2. ἐσπλέοντι. So Thuc. i. 24 Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, Herod. iii. 90. 9.

3. αὐτοῖσι. The Persians are opposed to the Phoenicians in the fleet. Cf. v. 117, 122 and *supr.* 6. 'Had been rendered subject by the Persians themselves (by their own action).' The periphrasis ἦν γεγὼνώς occurs below, 37. 6 etc.

4. αἱ . . . αἶδε, πόλις or χώραι must be supplied, and on this the genitive τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου depends. 'These are the lands (cities) of the Hellespont in Europe.'

5. πόλις συχναί. Herodotus mentions Cardia, Pactya, Sestos, Madytus, Elaeus.

6. Perinthus; cf. v. 1. τὰ

HELLESPONT. B.C. 493; Ol. 71, 4.

Σηλυμβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν καὶ οἱ
 πέρηθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς
 Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἷχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω
 10 ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην
 οἶκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώ-
 ρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας^a τράπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόννησον
 καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλεον αὐ-
 τὶς ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσον ἐξαιρήσοντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν
 15 πολίων, ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ
 δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχήν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ
 ἔτι^b πρότερον τοῦ Φοινίκων ἐσπλόου τούτου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ
 βασιλεί, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάξου ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν
 Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ. τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου, πλὴν Καρδίας
 πόλιος, τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες. ἐτυ- 34

^a καταλειφθείσας A B C.^b ἔτεϊ? Dobr.

τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης, i.e. the fortified positions held by the Greeks in Thrace. These were Leuce Acte, Teiristasis, Heraclea (Perinthus), Ganus, Neon Teichos, Daminon Teichos, and Selymbria, which Herodotus mentions separately.

7. Selymbria (town of Selys, βρία meaning town, cf. Mesambria, Brea; Strabo, p. 319) was a colony of the Megarians, more ancient even than Chalcedon.

10. Mesambria was also a colony of the Megarians.

11. οἶκησαν, not οἶκισαν, for the city had been founded previously.

14. τὰς ἐπιλοίπους. The more inland or the stronger cities, Agora, Sestos, may be meant.

17. ἔτι πρότερον, 'even before.' Cf. v. 62. 16 ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι.

18. Οἰβάρεϊ. This Oebares was

apparently the brother of the Bubares mentioned in v. 21 ult. Dascyleum, near the shore of the Propontis, was the capital of the Phrygian satrapy, in which were included the Greeks on the right hand of the Hellespont, iii. 90; cf. Thuc. i. 129. The cities thus subdued were kept in subjugation by a number of fortresses held by Persian governors. Such were Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon; Doriscus, at the mouth of the Hebrus, Sestos, Cardia. Cf. vii. 106 κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ, iii. 96 προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μεχρὶ Θεσσαλίας οἰκημένων, ix. 116 ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξῳ ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης, vii. 78.

ATHENS. B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

The Cher-
sonese:
how
colonised
by the
Athenians.

ράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος
τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότε-
ρον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. εἶχον Δό-
λογκοι Θρήικες τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ 5
Δόλογκοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων ἐς Δελφοὺς
ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησομένους.
ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἀνείλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώ-
ρην τοῦτον ὃς ἂν σφεας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος
ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογκοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν 10
διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦισαν· καί σφεας ὥς οὐ-
35 δεῖς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. ἐν δὲ τῇσι
Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισί-
στρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευέ γε^a καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου

^a γε Reiske: τε A B C: om. R (sv).

34. 4. Κυψέλου. This name points to some connection with Cypselus of Corinth. We know from Herod. *infr.* 128 *ult.* that Hippocleides the son of Tisander, one of the suitors of Agariste, was connected with the Cypselids, and in the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus we have the following genealogy quoted from Pherecydes, in which Miltiades and Hippocleides are connected: Φιλαίας ὁ Αἶαντος οἰκεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἐκ τούτου δὲ γίγνεται Δαῖκλος, τοῦ δὲ Ἐπίλυκος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀκέστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγῆνωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ὀλιος, τοῦ δὲ Λύκης, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγαμήστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Τίσανδρος, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις† τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος Παναθηναῖα ἐτέθη † τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὃς ᾤκισε Χερρόνησον.

Δόλογκοι. Nothing is known of this tribe except in connection with this incident. We hear again of the Apsinthians in ix. 119.

7. τοὺς βασιλέας. The kings of the various cities: cf. *infr.* 39. 11 συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πολιῶν οἱ δυναστεύοντες.

8. The advice of the oracle amounted to a recommendation that the various princes of the Chersonese should submit to a central authority.

10. ἰόντες takes up ἀπιόντας, 'as they went on their way.' The envoys seem to have come back into Boeotia along the sacred way which led from Delphi to Thebes, but subsequently they diverged from it and reached Athens by another route (ἐκτράπονται).

35. 2. τηνικαῦτα. As the incident happened during the reign of Croesus, and apparently before he was involved in difficulties in the East, we must place it in the first tyranny of Peisistratus, i.e. not long after 560 B.C.

ATHENS. B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰα-
 5 κοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονώς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα, Ἀθηναῖος,
 Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰ-
 κίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου. οὗτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος
 ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ, ὁρέων τοὺς Δο-
 λόγους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ
 10 αἰχμὰς προσεβώσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο
 καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέφαινον πᾶν τὸ μαντήιον, ἐκφήναντες δὲ
 ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ
 ἀκούσαντα παραντίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος οἷα ἀχθόμενόν τε
 15 τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκποδὼν εἶναι.
 αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφούς, ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρη-
 στήριον εἰ ποιοίη^a τά περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογοι προσεδέον-
 το. κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης 36

^a ποιῇ Dobr. : ποιέη Hermann.

4. ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου.
 Cf. *infra*. 36, 103, 125. 26.

5. Αἰγίνης, i.e. the nymph. τὰ
 νεώτερα is opposed to τὰ ἀνέκαθεν,
 as in ix. 26. 7 τὸ νέον is opposed to
 τὸ παλαιόν.

6. Cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 10. When
 Megara and Athens were disputing
 for the possession of Salamis Σόλωνά
 φασιν (Ἀθηναῖοι) ἀποδείξαι τοῖς δι-
 κασταῖς ὅτι Φιλαῖος καὶ Εὐρυσάκης
 Αἴαντος υἱοὶ Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας μετα-
 λαβόντες κατώκησαν ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραν-
 ρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁ δὲ ἐν Μελίτῃ,
 καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν
 Φιλαῖδων ἔχουσιν.

8. The deme of Laciadae, in
 which lay the property of Miltiades
 the son of Cimon, was close to
 Athens, N.W. of the city, on the
 way to Eleusis (Paus. i. 37. 2; Plut.

Cim. 4), but we do not know that
 the elder Miltiades lived in this
 deme. The word ἐκτράπονται im-
 plies that the envoys left the Sacred
 Way leading from Delphi to Athens
 (by Thebes and Eleusis), and reached
 Athens by another route.

13. μιν is not required; but cf.
 i. 141. 14 αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος
 δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ
 Κροίσου.

17. εἰ ποιοίη. The optative with
 εἰ, in indirect deliberative questions
 after a historical tense, is found in
 v. 67. 10 ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλαι,
 v. 124. 9 εἴτε ἄγοι, viii. 67 ult. εἰ
 ποιέοιτο. In all these cases, Dobree
 introduced the subjunctive, but the
 change is unnecessary; see Goodwin,
Syntax, § 677; Cavallin, *De modis*,
 etc., p. 39.

CHERSONESE. After B.C. 560; Ol. 55. 1.

Miltiades I
in the Cher-
sonese;

ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρηκῶς πρότερον τούτων
τεθρίππῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βου-
λόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγκοι-
σι καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν· καί μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύ- 5
ραννον κατεστήσαντο. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν
ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην,
ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφέας οἱ Ἀψίνθιοι δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλον-
τες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἕξ τε καὶ τριή-
κοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερ- 10
σώνησος ἔσω πᾶσα ἐστὶ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων

37 τὸ μῆκος. ἀποτείχισας ὦν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου
ὁ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ
ὡσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοισι ἐπολέμησε Λαμ-
ψακηνοῖσι· καί μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰ-
ρέουσι ζωγρίῃ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυ- 5
δῶ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς· πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος

his rela-
tions with
the Lamp-
sacenes and
Croesus;

36. 2. Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρηκῶς.
Elsewhere in Herod. Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀν.
infr. 70. 15, 103. 6.

3. πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον. That
Miltiades was sent out by Peisis-
tratus with a view to securing the
Chersonesus for Athens, is more than
we can affirm. But no doubt the
tyrant would gladly see an opponent
out of the city, and was willing that
any disaffected persons should go
with him. At a later time the im-
portance of the Chersonese was
recognised, and Miltiades the son of
Cimon was conveyed thither by the
Peisistratidae who were themselves
in possession of Sigeum.

7. ἐκ Καρδίας . . . ἐς Πακτύην, i.e.
from sea to sea. Cf. Plut. *Per.* 19
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαζώσας ἐρύμασι
καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θά-

λατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν
Θρακῶν (*circ.* 453 B. C.). In 398 B. C.
the wall was again restored by Der-
cyllidas, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 8.

37. 3. The inhabitants of Lamp-
sacus, on the other side of the Helles-
pont, would not view with any
pleasure the rise of a considerable
power in the Chersonese. The com-
petition between the cities in this
part of the Aegean was keen; cf. i.
165, where the Chians refuse to sell
the Oenoussae to the Phocaeans,
δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον
γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀπο-
κληισθῇ.

5. ἦν δὲ . . . ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς, 'had
been observed by,' 'noted by.' Apart
from any personal relations which
may have existed between the two,
Croesus would feel that the presence

CHERSONESE. B.C. 518(?); Ol. 65. 3.

ταῦτα, πέμπων προηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖσι με-
 τίεναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μή, σφέας πίτυος τρόπον
 ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακη-
 10 νῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὸ θέλει^a τὸ ἔπος εἶναι^b τό σφι
 ἀπείλησε ὁ Κροῖσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόγισ-
 κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι πί-
 τυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα
 μετίει ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται. δείσαντες ὧν οἱ
 15 Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον, λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδεα.
 οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτᾷ 38
 ἄπαις, τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδοὺς Στησα-
 γόρῃ τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρίου, καί
 οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησίται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ,
 5 καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι, ἐν τῷ
 Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ
 ἐόντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνούς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε
 ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν
 τῷ πρυτανηίῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ
 πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμότερου τῷ ἔργῳ. τελευτήσαν- 39

he is suc-
 ceeded by
 Stesagoras

^a τί θέλει H. Stephanus, sed vid. vii. 37. 11.

^b εἶπαι Ab.

of a Greek in the Chersonese would at least prevent the Thracian tribes from approaching the Troad.

10. ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, 'in their discussion.'

12. ὅτι πίτυς μούνη, κ.τ.λ. The old name of Lampsacus is said to have been Pityussa, Charon. Lamp. Frag. 6 M.

38. 1. τελευτᾷ. The date is unknown.

3. ὁμομητρίου. Cypselus and Cimon must have married the same woman.

4. οἰκιστῇ. Compare what Thucydides says of the grave of Brasidas

at Amphipolis, v. 11 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται περιέρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον ὡς ἡρώϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἑτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν.

9. ὑποθερμότερου, 'inclined to be vehement, though his vehemence was concealed.' This seems to be the sense of the compound, for ὑπο- can hardly have the usual diminishing sense here. The man was not slightly but excessively vehement. Even in *infr.* 75. 5 it is doubtful whether ὑπόμαργος does not mean 'mad beneath the surface.' This is the

CHERSONESE. B.C. 496 (?); Ol. 71. 1.

who is suc-
ceeded by
Miltiades
II.

τος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλ-
τιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος
ἀδελφεόν, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερ-
σονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἱ μιν 5
καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐποίουν εὖ ὥς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν
τοῦ πατρὸς [Κίμωνος]^a αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν
ἄλλῳ λόγῳ σημανέω ὥς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικό-
μενος ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον εἶχε κατ' οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελ-
φὸν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέων^b. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται 10
πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν
πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῶ δὲ στόλῳ
ἀπικόμενοι ὥς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους
βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηίκων 15
βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥγησιπύλην.

^a Κίμωνος secl. St.^b ἔτι πενθέων Valck.: πενθέων Cob.

common meaning of ὑπο- with words
signifying material things, e. g.
ὑπόπετρος, ὑπότροχος, &c.

Krüger, following Wesseling, trans-
lates, 'etwas zu hitzig,' the ὑπο-
modifying the force of the compara-
tive. In other explanations both the
comparative and the ὑπο- are re-
garded as modifying the sense of
θερμός (Abicht, Strachan) but this
does not seem to be consistent with
the facts. [τῷ ἔργῳ marks the anti-
thesis to τῷ λόγῳ.]

39. 5. οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. Peisis-
tratus was therefore dead (527 B.C.)
The Peisistratidae sent out Miltiades
in a trireme in order to pay him
peculiar honour (but cf. also *supr.*
36. 2). So Hipparchus is said to have
sent a penteconter to bring Anacreon
to Athens; Plato, *Hipparch.* 228 C.

7. ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ. Cf. *infr.* 103.

For the expression, *supr.* 19. 5.

10. ἐπιτιμέων. In the context this
can only mean 'paying additional
honours to,' whereas ἐπιτιμᾶν means
to 'reprove,' 'reproach.' Cobet,
following Valckenaer, reads πενθέων.
But as we find ἐπιτιμᾶν in the sense
of 'raising the price,' Diphil. *Emph.*
1. 27 (32 K) οἶνον ἐπιτετίμηκας πολὺ,
Demosth. 34 § 39 ὁ σῖτος ἐπετιμήθη,
may we not take τιμή in a different
sense (of honour, not price), and
translate the word, 'raising the
honours of,' 'specially honouring?'

13. συλλυπηθησόμενοι. Cp. ix.
94. 6 συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει. For
the form, cf. *supr.* 11. 16; Plato,
Rep. 462 E, has συλλυπήσεται.

15. βόσκων for τρέφων. The word
is perhaps contemptuous; cf. i. 44. 8
φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων.

CHERSONESE. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

Οὗτος δὲ ^a ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύ- 40
 θεε ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάβανε δέ μιν ἐλθόντα
 ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων^b πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ
 μὲν γὰρ ἔτει^c πρὸς τούτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει. Σκύθαι γὰρ
 5 οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνε-
 στράφησαν καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης.
 τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε
 Χερσόνησον^d, ἐς δ' οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ
 ἐκείνους Δόλογχοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

Miltiades is
 driven from
 the Cher-
 sonese
 by the
 Scythians,

^a δὴ Krüg.^c πρό add. St.^b κατεχόντων P R (sv), Krüg. alii.^d ἀπὸ χερσονήσου A B.

40. 3. τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγ-
 μάτων. These words are by some
 supposed to mean the troubles which
 beset Miltiades on his first arrival in
 the Chersonese (see Strachan, who,
 however, reads τῶν κατεχόντων
 πρηγμάτων). Against this it may be
 argued that we have no account of
 such 'troubles,' for the imprisonment
 of the princes in the cities can hardly
 be considered as such. Moreover
 the words τρίτῳ ἔτει at the end of
 the chapter make such a rendering
 difficult, for in that case we should
 have to suppose that the Scythians
 kept Miltiades out of the Chersonese
 from the third year after his arrival
 (515-2=513 B. C.) till the third year
 before the Phoenicians sailed north
 (493+2=495 B. C.), i. e. for sixteen
 years or more. (2) Another render-
 ing connects the words with the
 approach of the Phoenicians in 493
 B. C. In this case πρό is required
 before τούτων in l. 4 [though
 Cobet denies this, and also Abicht,
 maintaining that τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων

can mean 'in the third year before
 this']. ἐλθόντα refers, not to the first
 arrival of Miltiades, but to his return
 from absence (caused by his action
 at the Danube), about two years
 before the approach of the Phoeni-
 cians. That he could remain in the
 Chersonese after his conduct at the
 Danube (iv. 137), conduct which
 Histiaeus and others would make
 known to Darius (*infr.* 41. 14),
 seems incredible. But Herodotus
 takes no note of this, beyond men-
 tioning the fact that Miltiades had
 recently come to the Chersonese in
 495 B. C. This rendering, it is true,
 represents the Scythians as waiting
 for their revenge nearly twenty years
 (from 515 B. C. to 495 B. C.), but this
 objection may be answered to some
 extent by the fact that the Ionic
 revolt would perhaps appear to the
 Scythians to be a suitable time for
 revenging themselves; and moreover
 Miltiades had only recently returned
 to the Chersonese.

5. οἱ νομάδες. Cf. *infr.* 84. 5.

CHERSONESE. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

and again
by the
Phoeni-
cians,

τρίτῳ ἔτει^a πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων^a. 10
 41 τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ,
 πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων
 ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὠρμήθη ἐκ Καρ-
 δίης πόλιος, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμεί-
 βετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτου- 5
 σι τῇσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσ-
 σερσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δέ οἱ
 πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς
 δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύ-
 τατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρή- 10
 κος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηὶ
 εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὥς εἴη Μιλτιά-
 δεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα
 μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην
 ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἴωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύ- 15
 θησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχε-
 δίην ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὥς οἱ
 Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε

^a δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει et τῶν . . . κατεχόντων del. Dobr.

10. τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων, i. e. the approach of the Phoenicians.

41. 3. ὥσπερ for ὥς. Καρδίας. Cardia was the only city which the Phoenicians did not destroy, *supr.* 34. 1.

6. τῇσι νηυσί, 'with their ships,' not 'on his ships.' Cf. 43. 19 διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσί.

14. γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο. Cf. iv. 137.

18. ἐποίησε κακὸν οὐδέν. Similar gracious treatment was shown in the case of Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta (vii. 104), whose descendants

held estates in Persia at the beginning of the fourth century (*infr.* 70. 11), and Gongylus of Eretria, cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6. Compare also the fortunes of Scythes, *supr.* 24; Gillus, iii. 138; Democedes, iii. 129 ff.; Dicaeus, viii. 65. When Themistocles appeared at the Persian court, the king is said to have prayed that Areimanius, the spirit of evil, would always put it into the minds of the enemies of Persia to send their best men to the Persians (Plut. *Them.* 28).

IONIA. B.C. 493; Ol. 71. 4.

κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ
 20 οἶκον καὶ κτήσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς
 οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης and returns
 δὲ ἐξ Ἰμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. to Athens.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ 42
 πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἰωσι, ἀλλὰ τά- IONIA,
 δε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἰωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ settlement
 ἔτεος. Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος μεταπεμψάμε- of by Artaphernes.
 5 νος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολίων συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι
 τοὺς Ἰώνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ
 μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταῦτά τε ἠνάγκασε
 ποιέειν, καὶ τὰς χώρας μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρα-
 σάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια,
 10 κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἱ

22. Ἰμβρου. At what time Imbros was taken by Miltiades is not clear. Cf. *infra*. 140.

42. 2. ἐς νεῖκος φέρον. Cf. *supr*. 2. 1.

3. χρήσιμα κάρτα. For this position of κάρτα, see *supr*. 3. 4.

τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος, i. e. 493 B. C.

4. μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους. According to Diodorus, x. 25. 4, Hecataeus of Miletus was one of the envoys. Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος πρεσβευτῆς ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων ἠρώτησε δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀπιστεῖ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, μήποτε ὑπὲρ ὧν καταπολεμηθέντες κακῶς ἔπαθον μνησικακήσωσιν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφησεν, εἰ τὸ πεπονθέναι κακῶς τὴν ἀπιστίαν περιποιεῖ, τὸ παθεῖν ἄρα εὖ ποιήσεταις πόλεις Πέρσαις εὐνοούσας. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τακτοὺς φόρους κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν.

10. The arrangement of Artaphernes may have provided an example to Aristides when fixing the φόρος of the Delian League.

οἱ κατὰ χώραν, κ.τ.λ. These words imply that in the time of Herodotus the Asiatic cities were still liable to taxation by Persia. Whether the taxes were collected is another matter. Cf. Thuc. viii. 5. 5 ὑπὸ βασιλέως γὰρ νεωστὶ ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς φόρους, οὓς δι' Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οὐ δυνάμενος πρᾶσσεσθαι ἐπαφείλησε (of Tissaphernes). The amount of the tribute paid by each satrapy was fixed by Darius (iii. 90), but Artaphernes assigned to each city the proportion which it should pay. Probably the tyrants in the various cities quarrelled much about this. It is difficult to see how the permanence of this arrangement can be

IONIA. B.C. 492; Ol. 72. 1.

κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ^a καὶ πρότερον εἶχον.
 43 καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων^b στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, ἡλικίην τε νέος ἐὼν καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὼς⁵ βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοζώστρην· ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσί, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν¹⁰ Ἀσίην ἀπῖκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπτὰ Ὀτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυ-

Mardonius appointed general to invade Greece.

^a τά om. St.

^b παραλελυμένων Van Herw. *Mnemos.* xiii. 32.

reconciled with the existence of the so-called Cimonian peace.

13. κατὰ ταῦτα τά = κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τά, Krüger, who quotes ii. 30. 13 (κατὰ ταῦτα . . . ὡς).

43. 1. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, 492 B.C.

2. καταλελυμένων. The usual word is παραλύειν. Van Herwerden, quoting v. 75. 11, vi. 94. 8, vii. 38. 13, remarks 'καταλύειν dicitur τὸν δῆμον, τὴν βουλήν, τὴν βασιλείαν, τοὺς νόμους, et de regibus et tyrannis, καταλύειν τινα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς τυραννίδος.' There is nothing in Herodotus quite similar to the text.

4. ἅμα ἀγόμενος. The words, which

in strictness imply the presence of the leader, are used somewhat loosely of the commander in chief, by land and sea.

7. ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, i.e. in the Aleian plain; cf. *infra*. 95. 3. This was the great gathering place of the Persian forces for operations in the western part of their dominions. The Aleian plain, in the stricter sense, lay between the rivers Pyramus and Sarus.

13. Cf. iii. 80.

14. τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους. We are therefore to suppose that in the interval between 496 and 493 B.C. the tyrants had been restored to their cities. The deposition here men-

THRACE. B.C. 492; Ol. 72. 1.

15 *ράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος*
δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας
ἠπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν
χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν, συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς στρατὸς
πολλός, διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπο-
 20 *ρεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέ-*
τριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας. αὗται μὲν ὧν σφί πρόσχημα ἦσαν 44
τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας
δύνωνται καταστρέφειν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν, τοῦτο
μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους
 5 *κατεστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς*
τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς
Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφί ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγο-

He sub-
jugates
Thasos and
Mace-
donia.

tioned was certainly not lasting. Strattis, who was tyrant of Chios at the time of the Scythian expedition, was tyrant in 480 B.C. (viii. 132), and the system of tyrannies was fully approved by Xerxes, who appointed Theomestor to be tyrant of Samos for his services at Salamis. Mardonius seems to have aimed at bringing the Persian power into direct communication with the *δῆμος* in the various Greek cities. Curtius remarks that 'he wished to show himself as a friend and supporter of popular freedom; he belonged to a party which one may call the Philhellenic.' *Gesch. Gr.* I⁶, p. 630. But this view, even if it were supported by evidence, anticipates the growth of democratic feeling in Greece. Mardonius was probably determined by the conduct of the Samians, whose tyrant had proved useless, whose oligarchs had opposed the Persians to the last, whose demos

had saved themselves and their island by desertion at Lade.

44. 6. *ἐντός*, i. e., from the Persian point of view; hence = east of. In i. 6. 2 *τὰ ἐντὸς Ἑλλήσποντου* are the nations west of the Halys, i. e. 'within' from the Greek point of view. The precise boundaries of Macedonia can hardly be fixed. In its widest extent the Macedonia of Herodotus extends from Mount Dysorion in the neighbourhood of Lake Prasias (v. 17) to Tempe (vii. 173). But this, at any rate so far as regards the north-eastern limit, is probably the later Macedonia. Yet from viii. 127 we learn that Bottiaea had been conquered by the time of Xerxes' invasion. The original Macedonia lay between the Axios and Haliacmon. The country was divided into an upper Macedonia (the original abode of the monarchs, viii. 137; vii. 128) and a lower (vii. 173). Cf. v. 17. 7.

THRACE. B.C. 492; Ol. 72. 1.

His disaster off
Mount
Athos;

νότα. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν
 ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρ-
 μώμενοι τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον. ἐπιπесῶν δέ σφι¹⁰
 περιπλέουσι βορέης ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα
 τρηχέως περιέσπε, πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων
 πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων. λέγεται γὰρ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν
 νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας
 ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης εἰσῆς τῆς θα-¹⁵
 λάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
 θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἄρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς
 πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο
⁴⁵ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγει. ὁ μὲν δὴ
 ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὕτω ἔπρησσε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ
 πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι
 Θρήικες ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφεων πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ
 Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τραματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι⁵

and with
the Brygi.

8. διαβαλόντες, sc. τὰς νέας.

11. βορέης ἄνεμος. Cf. vii. 188.
 9 where the same wind is called
 πολλὰς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ
 Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα
 τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. Leake, *Northern
 Greece*, iii. 145, writes: 'Such is the
 fear entertained by the Greek boat-
 men of the strength and uncertain
 direction of the currents around
 Mount Athos, and of the gales and
 high seas to which the vicinity of
 the mountain is subject during half
 the year, that I could not, as long as
 I was on the peninsula, and though
 offering a high price, prevail upon
 any boat to carry me from the
 eastern side to the western.' On
 Oct. 26 Leake was 'detained by a
 violent gale of wind from the north.'

ἄπορος is lit. 'unmanageable,' from
 which no πόρος can be found; cf.
 ix. 49. 8 προσφέρεισθαι ἄποροι (of
 the mounted archers of the Per-
 sians). Compare the use of the
 neuter, e. g. Aeschylus, *P. V.* 904
 ἄπορα πόριμος.

45. 3. Βρύγοι. In vii. 73 we
 read: οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέ-
 γουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον
 Εὐρωπήιοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακε-
 δόσι. Whether the Briges and Brygi
 were the same is not quite certain,
 but both seem to have been Thracians
 dwelling near the Macedonians, so
 that the identification is probable.
 Strabo has no doubt; he identifies
 Briges, Bryges, Brygi, and Phry-
 gians, p. 295, 330. 25, 550.

THASOS. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

οὐδὲ^a αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ
 πρότερον ἀπανεστή ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων Μαρδόνιος
 πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι
 καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ
 10 πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυ-
 τικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἀθων. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος
 αἰσchrῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρείος πρῶτα μὲν 46
 Θασίους, διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπό-
 στασιν μηχανώατο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευέ σφεας τὸ
 τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. οἱ
 5 γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἷα ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου
 πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἐχρέων-
 το τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ
 τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσδοδος σφι
 ἐγίνετο ἐκ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων. ἐκ
 10 μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων
 τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν
 αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσῳ μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε
 τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι προσήιε ἀπὸ

The
 Thasians
 are com-
 pelled to
 pull down
 their walls
 by Darius.

* οὐ μὲν οὐδέ R (sv), Krüg.

12. ἀπαλλάχθη. Elsewhere Hero-
 dotus uses the active in this context,
 e. g. i. 16. 7 ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε
 ἀπῆλλαξε. Schwgh. suggests that
 the use of the passive here is due to
 the fact that the army had escaped
 great dangers (in which sense the
 passive is used). Cf. ii. 120. 17
 τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆ-
 σεσθαι, Soph. *Ant.* 400 δίκαιός εἰμι
 τῶνδ' ἀπῆλλάχθαι κακῶν.

46. 1. δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων. The
 next year, i. e. 491 B. C.

2. ἀστυγειτόνων. Their neigh-

bours on the main land are meant.
 They were doubtless jealous of the
 encroachments of the Thasians.

5. ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου. Cf. *supr.* c. 28.

9. ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου. The Thasians
 had a number of settlements on the
 mainland, Stryme, Galepsus, Oesyme,
 Datum, Scapte Hyle. In some of these
 there were mines; from others the
 Thasians received tolls or profits of
 trade (Thuc. i. 100).

13. καρπῶν ἀτελέσι. They paid
 no tax on the value of their pro-
 perty, and even the products were

THASOS. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἕτερος ἐκάστου διηκό-
σια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλείστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.¹⁵

47 εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῶ ἦν
αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεύρον οἱ μετὰ
Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν ἀπὸ^a τοῦ
Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε. τὰ δὲ
μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ⁵
Aίνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον
δὲ Σαμοθρηίκης, ὅρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζή-
τήσι. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βα-
σιλεί κελύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ
τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς¹⁰ Ἀβδηρα.

48 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ὅ τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδι-
δόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη
τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελύων αἰτέειν βασιλεί γῆν
τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε,⁵
ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφό-
ρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελύων νέας τε μα-
49 κρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιέεσθαι. οὗτοί τε δὴ πα-

^a ἐπὶ P R (sv), Krüg., Cob., Kall. *Comm. Crit.* p. 11.

free. καρπῶν ἀτελεῖς is equivalent to οὐ τέλη καρπῶν τελοῦντες, i. e. paying no part of the fruits of their land as tithes or taxes, the genitive with ἀτελής being commonly used of the tax which is not imposed, as e. g. i. 192. 21 κῶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελεές.

47. 3. ἣτις. The use of ὅστις for ὅς in Herodotus is established (see Stein on iv. 8. 4); *supr.* 13. 14 we have Αἰάκης παρ' ὅτεν, and *infr.* 123 4 τούτους οἵτινες ἐφευγον. νῦν ἔσχε can only mean 'obtained and still has,' or 'got the name which it now

has.' Cf. vii. 74. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. [Cobet would read ἐπὶ here; Abicht has ἐπὶ with the note, 'statt des gewöhnlichen ἀπό,' referring to v. 65. 20; see Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 11, who remarks: 'uticumque libri inter ἐπὶ et ἀπό variant, ἐπὶ scribere malim.'] For the Phoenicians at Thasos, see ii. 44. 14. Earlier names of the island were Odonis and Aeria.

8. τῷ βασιλεί. Cf. *supr.* 21. 10 for the dative. The walls were rebuilt before the expedition of the Athenians to Thasos in 465 B.C.

Mines in
Thasos.

Darius
sends en-
voys into
Greece, and
prepares
for inva-
sion.

AEGINA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72, 2.

ρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προῖσχετο αἰ-
 τέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο
 5 αἰτήσοντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ
 ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῇται. ποιήσασι δέ σφι
 ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντές τε ἐπὶ σφί-
 σι ἐπέχοντας^a τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρ-
 σῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται, καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπε-
 10 λάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν
 Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
 πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξαν-
 δρίδew βασιλεὺς ἐὼν^b Σπαρτιητέων διέβη ἐς Αἶγιναν,
 βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. ὥς
 δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ
 5 ἀντίξοοι τῶν Αἰγινητέων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριὸς ὁ Πο-
 λυκρίτου μάλιστα, ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξιον χαί-
 ροντα Αἰγινητέων· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ
 κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρή-
 μασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλεί ἐλθόντα συλ-

The envoys
at Aegina.

50

Cleomenes
of Sparta
visits
Aegina,
but is
thwarted
by Dema-
ratus.

^a ἔχοντας Ps (-es R): ἔχοντα Krüg.: ἐκόντας Van H. ^b βασιλεύων A B C.

49. 3. ἔδοσαν τὰ προῖσχετο αἰ-
τέων, i.e. 'agreed to the request
which he preferred.' Cf. *supr.* 9. 16,
for προῖσχεσθαι.

7. Ἀθηναῖοι. We are not told
here what befel the envoys sent to
Athens and Sparta, but cf. vii. 133.
ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας, 'aiming at
them.' The Aeginetans and Athe-
nians were on the worst of terms
owing to the unprovoked attack
which the Aeginetans had made on
Attica in support of the Thebans.
See v. 81-89.

10. ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. Not only

was Sparta recognised as the head of
Greece, but Aegina was a member of
the Peloponnesian confederacy, and
she had recently provided Sparta
with ships to convey soldiers for the
invasion of Argolis, in spite of the
ancient connection of the city with
Argos.

50. 9. ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν, κ.τ.λ.
Yet the rule has already been passed
that one king only should be absent
from Sparta at a time. Cf. v. 75. 8
ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίας ἐτέθη
νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἕπεσθαι
ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης

SPARTA.

λαμβάνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου.¹⁰ Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης εἶρετο τὸν Κριὸν ὃ τι οἱ εἶη τὸ οὔνομα· ὃ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὸν ἔφρασε. ὃ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη “ἦ δὴ νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ὦ κριὲ τὰ κέρεια, ὥς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ.”

- 51 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιητέων, οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστέρης (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι), κατὰ πρεσβυγενεΐην δέ κως τετί-
52 μηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθέneos. Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν

στρατιῆς. It may, of course, be said that, on the present occasion, there was no ‘expedition,’ or that the Aeginetans were ignorant of the rule, or that Demaratus falsely suggested the objection.

12. ὃ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐὸν ἔφρασε. Cf. v. 50. 7 χρὲν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐὸν, and *supr.* 3. 4, 37. 12.

14. συνοισόμενος, ‘about to come into conflict with.’ As the word is not used elsewhere in Herodotus in this sense, Schwgh. suggests, ‘qui in eo est ut ingens in malum incidat.’ The ordinary word is προσφέρεσθαι. Crius was among the Aeginetans subsequently carried off as hostages to Athens (*infr.* 73); his son fought at Salamis (viii. 92). In a fragment of Simonides (*Frag.* 13. 55 P) we read: ἐπέξαθ’ ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως ἔλθων ἐς εὐδενδρον ἀγλαὸν Διὸς τέμενος.

51. 2. διέβαλλε, ‘maligned,’ ‘got up a feeling against’; see *infr.* 61. 3.

5. τοῦ αὐτοῦ, i. e. Aristodemus. κως implies that the precedence in birth was not so much a matter of ascertained fact as of opinion. The origin of the dual monarchy at Sparta is unknown. We may conjecture: (1) That the story of the twins is true; (2) that the Spartans chose to have two supreme magistrates as the Romans chose to have two consuls; (3) that two states coalesced into one, each monarch retaining his position. This last conjecture is supported to some degree by the fact that each of the royal families had separate burying grounds in separate parts of the city of Sparta. Another difficulty connected with the subject is the fact that though the two sons of Aristodemus were Eurysthenes and Procles, the royal houses were commonly called Agidae and Eurypontidae.

52. 1. ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ. In the ordinary legend Aristodemus died before his arrival in Pelopon-

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Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου βασιλεύοντα
 ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται,
 5 ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ
 πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῇ οὖνομα εἶ-
 ναι Ἀργείην. θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτε-
 σίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνεί-
 10 κεος· ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρι-
 στοδήμον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτᾶν. Λακεδαιμονίους
 δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας^a βουλευσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν
 παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὐκὼν δὲ σφεας
 ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔόν-
 των· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνῶναι, ἣ καὶ πρὸ τούτου,
 15 ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι δια-
 γινώσκειν. εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα,
 βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως^b ἀμφότεροι γενοίατο βασιλέες.
 τοὺς ὧν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ

THE
KINGS OF
SPARTA:
origin of
the dual
monarchy.

The twin
sons of
Aristo-
demus.

^a ἄρχοντας Krüg.: ἐν τέλει ἔοντας St.

^b οὐ βουλομένην δέ Cob., vid. Krüg.

nesus (cf. Plato, *Laws*, 683). What poets Herodotus had in his mind is uncertain; the only epic known to deal with this subject is the *Aegimius*. Local tradition was often at variance with poetry.

9. τεκεῖν δίδυμα. For the neuter cf. i. 112. 11 τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός.

ἐπιδόντα, 'seeing in his life-time.' Pape quotes Xen. *Vect.* 6. 1 ἵνα ἔτ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπίδωμεν τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμονούσαν, *Anab.* vii. 1. 30.

11. τοὺς τότε ἔοντας. The words, though grammatical, can hardly be genuine, unless we suppose that Herodotus made a slip.

13. ὁκότερον ἔλονται. The deliberative subj. is usually retained in

orat. obliqua (*infr.* 11. 19, 23). See *supr.* 35. 17. ὁμοίων like in appearance, ἴσων like in size. The words are generally combined in the reverse order to imply equality in measure and quality.

16. καὶ τὸ κάρτα, with εἰδυῖαν, 'very well indeed.'

17. The order is ταῦτα λέγειν (repeating φάναι) εἰδυῖαν μὲν (sc. ὁπότερος εἴη ὁ πρότερος), βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως. Krüger, considering the text untenable, suggests ἀρνευμένην, or something similar, 'denying, in order to try whether,' or λέγειν δ' οὐ τι βουλομένην, εἰ. Cobet also proposes οὐ βουλομένην δέ. In ix. 14. 4 we have ἐβουλεύετο

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πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ
 πρήγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελεύειν σφέας ἀμφοτέρω 20
 παιδία ἡγήσασθαι^a βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γε-
 ραίτερον^b. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν, τοῖσι
 δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ὅκως ἐξεύ-
 ρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσ-
 σήνιον τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Πανίτην. ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον 25
 τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν
 γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παιδίων πρότερον λούει καὶ
 σιτίζει· καὶ ἣν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτά φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα,
 τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηνται καὶ θέλουσι
 ἐξευρεῖν, ἣν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, 30
 δῆλόν σφι ἔσεσθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε,
 ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδόν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς
 Σπαρτιήτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλά-
 ξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν
 κατὰ ταῦτά τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λου- 35
 τροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας
 δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης ὥς
 ἔδον πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὔνομα

^a στήσασθαι Cob.^b πρεσβύτερον A B C.

ἐθέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρώτους ἔλοι,
 where however ἐβουλεύετο helps the
 construction.

21. τὸν γεραίτερον. The word
 is really ambiguous, meaning 'the
 more worthy of honour,' but it is
 equivalent to 'elder.'

24. ἄνδρα Μεσσήνιον. So in ix.
 9 Chileus of Tegea gives advice to
 the Spartans. Such incidents are
 remarkable in a community so much
 given to secrecy, and so jealous of
 strangers as the Spartans.

29. πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι. Cf. *infr.*

69. 18 ἔχεις πᾶν ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει
 πυθέσθαι.

32. τραπέσθαι. ὑποθέσθαι sug-
 gests κελεύειν, and thus the infinitive
 is here to be translated, 'They must
 take another way.'

35. τὸν πρότερον, sc. γενέη.

38. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ seems to refer
 to some public place in which the
 child was brought up. Stein renders
 'under special protection, and at the
 cost of the state,' referring to *infr.*
 92. 14, where ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου may
 have that sense; cf. *infr.* 57. 8, where

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τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθέnea, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα. τούτους ἀνδρωθέν-
 40 τας αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔοντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι
 τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ
 τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν.

Ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μῦθοι 'Ελλά- 53
 νων· τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' 'Ελλήνων ἐγὼ γρά- Egyptian
 φω, τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περ- Kings at
 σέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος, καταλεγομένους Argos.
 5 ὀρθῶς ὑπ' 'Ελλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ "Ελλη-
 νες· ἥδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς "Ελληνας οὗτοι ἐτέλεον. ἔλεξα

we have ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου = 'from the community,' or 'at the public cost.' But in vii. 144. 3 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ means in the public chamber, or treasury. The story, as here told, explains the fact that one of the lines of kings received honours above the other, *supr.* c. 51, as well as the existence of the dual monarchy (ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας).

40. διαφόρους εἶναι. So the sons of Oedipus quarrelled; so too Atreus and Thyestes.

53. 1. λέγουσι, i. e. in their local story. Cf. what is said of Penelope in Arist. *Poet.* 1461 b 4. (25. 16) τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε τὰ περὶ 'Ικάριον. οἶονται γὰρ αὐτὸν Λάκωνα εἶναι. ἄτοπον οὖν τὸ μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τὸν Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντα. τὸ δ' ἴσως ἔχει ὥσπερ οἱ Κεφαλῆνές φασιν. παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ γῆμαι λέγουσι τὸν 'Οδυσσεά καὶ εἶναι 'Ικάδιον ἀλλ' οὐκ 'Ικάριον. In Arcadian story Penelope is the mother of Pan (cf. Herod. ii. 145. 16) by Hermes, or the Suitors.

4. τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος. Herodotus will not believe that any man is the

son of a god, or that a god has taken the form of man; cf. iv. 5. 4 τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθέneos τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. See esp. ii. 43-45, 142-146. The conviction seems to rest on the assertion of the Egyptian priests that within 341 generations no god had appeared in human shape. In the case of Heracles it compels Herodotus to assume two distinct persons, a hero, the son of Amphitryon, and a god, the son of Zeus.

καταλεγομένους ὀρθῶς, 'are correctly enrolled by the Greeks,' i. e. the list is correctly made out from father to son.

6. ἥδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα, κ.τ.λ. The same phrase is used of the Pelasgians at Athens in ii. 51. 7. In these instances it implies the ranging of foreigners among Greeks, with the consequent change of language, a change which Herodotus does not explain. *Infr.* 108. 26, the phrase is used of the political combination of the cities of Boeotia.

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- δὲ μέχρι Περσέος τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι
 ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίῃ Περσεί οὐδεμία πατρὸς
 θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεί Ἀμφιτρύων. ἤδη ὦν ὀρθῶ
 λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι ἀπὸ 10
 δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ
 πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοίατο ἂν ἔόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων
 54 ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές. ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ
 Perseus. Ἕλληνας λέγουσι γεγενεηλόγηται· ὥς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων
 λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο
 Ἕλληνα, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρι-
 σίου γε πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηιότητα Περσεί 5
 οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Αἰγυ-
 πτίους.
- 55 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὅ τι δὲ

7. οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, 'I did not go further back in the series'; with ἔλαβον supply τοὺς προγόνους. Herodotus cannot trace Perseus to a human father, and therefore the line stops with him. Who the father of Perseus was, Herodotus does not undertake to say. In Homer the line is carried back to Acrisius only; *Il.* xiv. 320.

9. ἤδη ὦν . . . μοι, i. e. 'it is now clear that I had good reason for saying "correctly as far as Perseus!"'

13. Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές, 'true-born Egyptians,' i. e. descendants of Danaus on the mother's side and Aegyptus on the father's, according to the common story. The list up to Perseus is: Hyllus, Heracles, Amphitryon, Alcaeus, Perseus; and above Perseus: Danae, Acrisius, Abas, Lynceus. On the connection of Greece and Egypt in early times see Appendix 2.

54. 2. ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος. So the Persians have a special account of Io, i. 1. Another form of the story is quoted in vii. 61, 150, according to which Perseus visited Cepheus, the son of Belus, the king of the Cephenees (Persians), and married his daughter Andromeda, by whom he had a son Perses, the eponym and ancestor of the Persians; see also ii. 91.

4. τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας, i. e. λέγουσι οἱ Πέρσαι.

55. 1, 2. ὅ τι, 'why,' *qua de causa*; ὅ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι 'for what services.' Herodotus is not quite consistent; he has said that the kings of Argos became or were Greeks in the time of Perseus, yet he now speaks of the Heracleids as Egyptians at the time when they became kings of the Dorians, though it was not till the adoption of Hyllus by Aegimius (long after the time that they had become

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έόντες Αιγύπτιοι καὶ ὃ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς
 Δωριέων βασιλίας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηται,
 ἐάσομεν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων
 μνήμην ποιήσομαι. γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι 58
 Σπαρτιῇται δεδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακε-
 δαίμονος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν
 ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι
 5 Σπαρτιητέων διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἁγεί
 ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἵεναι τοὺς βασι-
 λέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι. ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας

The Spar-
 tan Kings:
 their privi-
 leges in
 war;

Greeks) that the Argive stock were connected with the Dorians.

4. κατελάβοντο. The word is suspected owing to the middle and to the aorist. Cobet would read κατέλαβον. Whether Herodotus is referring to other historians or to poets is uncertain. Stein suggests Hecataeus, Charon of Lampsacus, and Pherecydes.

58. 2. Διὸς Λακεδαίμονος. The eponymous hero of a country is often regarded as a Zeus. In the legend, Lacedaemon was the son of Zeus and husband of Sparta. He was supposed to have founded a temple to the Graces, Phaenna and Cleta, on the banks of the Tiasas, between Sparta and Amyclae, and to have given them those names. His shrine was at Alesiae, between Therapne and Taygetus. The Ourania are mentioned in *C. I. G.* n. 1241. 58, 76; 1420. 21, 24.

3. ἐκφέρειν, i. e. δεδώκασι. So Cleomenes takes out the expedition against Athens: οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει v. 74. 5. And in the Peloponnesian war, Agis does not inform the allies of the object of the expedi-

tion which he is leading, though he may have been acting in consort with the ephors. It would seem, however, that the consent of both kings was required. See v. 75, and *supr.* 50. 9. At a later period the community declared war (*φρονῶν ἐφη-
 ναν*), the kings merely acting as generals. For the power of the kings in the field, see ix. 80; Thuc. vi. 65. f., 71, 73. Yet we find remarkable instances of insubordination at Plataea (*Amompharetus*, ix. 55. 6) and Mantinea (Thuc. v. 72).

5. ἐν τῷ ἁγεί. τῷ is added because a special curse is meant, which was recorded in the law. Cf. Aeschin. 3. 175 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέχεσθαι.

6. στρατευομένων, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 6 οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται πλὴν Σκιρίται καὶ οἱ προειρηνόμενοι ἱππεῖς.

7. ἑκατόν. The usual number seems to have been 300, if, at least, Herodotus means the so-called Hippeis. Cf. Thuc. v. 72 ὅπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγις ἦν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππεῖς καλούμενοι. The Spartans instituted a body of cavalry

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ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν¹⁰

57 σφέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται. ἤν θυσίῃ τις δημοτελῆς^a ποιέηται, πρῶτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον^b ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἐκατέρω τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι·⁵ καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα. νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας^c καὶ ἐβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήιον τέλεον

and in peace, at festivals, etc.

^a θυσίην et δημοτελῆ A B C, Gaisf., sed vid. Kall.

Comm. Crit. p. 13.

^b πρῶτων malebat Reisk. ^c ἀνὰ πάσας B² P (sv), Krüg., Ab., Van H.

for the first time in the Peloponnesian war.

8. στρατιῆς = στρατηίης. προβάτοισι. Sacrifices were required for the διαβατήρια, for no Spartan would venture to cross the boundary, if the omens were against him; Thuc. γ. 54; *infr.* 76. 7.

9. τῶν θυομένων, i. e. of the victims slain in these sacrifices for military purposes. The perquisites remind us of Homer, *Od.* iv. 65.

57. 2. θυσίῃ δημοτελῆς. All public sacrifices were offered by the kings; Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xv. 2 θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα.

3. ἵζειν is intransitive.

4. ἄρχεσθαι, sc. τοὺς νέμοντας, the attendants. For similar honours cf. Thuc. i. 25 οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν.

διπλήσια, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλονται,

Xen. *l. c.* *Infr.* vii. 103, Xerxes makes an allusion to this Spartan custom, saying to Demaratus, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους.

6. σπονδαρχίας. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 310 f. Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμῆμεσθα μάλιστα Ἔδρη τε κρέασίν ἡδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν Ἐν Λυκίῃ;

7. νεομηνίας. Herodotus sometimes omits the prepositions ἀνά or κατὰ with the accusative (cf. vii. 50. 22 ὥρην τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, *ib.* 203. 6 προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, and *supr.* 22. 8) or even uses the case to express a point of time (viii. 15. 6). See Stein on vii. 50. 22, Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 13, Böttcher, *Der Gebrauch der Casus*, p. 20. But with πᾶς, ἀνά is generally used (vii. 203. 6 is an exception), and the meaning here seems to require it. Krüger, Abicht, and others may therefore

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ἐκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου
 10 τετάρτην Λακωνικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προε-
 δρίας ἐξαιρέτους, καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοις
 προσκείσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστών, καὶ Πυθίους
 αἰρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς
 Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια.
 15 μὴ ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποπέμ-
 πεσθαί σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκα-

be right in choosing the alternative reading.

9. μέδιμνον. The Lacedaemonian medimnus was half as much again as the Attic, and the Attic medimnus was equal to one and a half English bushels. Hence two and a quarter bushels English = the Lacedaemonian medimnus. Each Spartan contributed this amount monthly to his syssition. He also contributed eight choes of wine, and perhaps this is the amount here meant by the Lacedaemonian 'quart.'

11. προξείνους. These were not proxeni in the usual sense, i. e. citizens of a foreign city, who undertook to watch over the interests of the community of which they were the proxeni, as e. g. Callias was the proxenus of Sparta at Athens; but officers of the Spartan state, who entertained or attended to foreign envoys when in Sparta. See Herm. *Staatsalt.* § 24. 9. That there were proxeni in the usual sense at Sparta is clear from Thuc. v. 43, Plato, *Laws*, 642, but such προξενίαι were hereditary.

13. The connection of Sparta with Delphi was more than ordinarily close, and Sparta was moreover influenced by oracles and responses

to an unusual degree; in Herodotus we find the Spartans persuaded by Delphi to expel the tyrants; and they are influenced (1) by the oracles which warn them that Athens, when freed from tyrants, will be a troublesome neighbour (v. 90. 10); (2) which warn them that unless a Spartan king falls, Lacedaemon will be ravaged by the Medes (vii. 220); (3) which foretell that the Medes and Athenians will join in the invasion of Peloponnesus (viii. 141).

14. σιτεόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xv. 5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ (Lycurgus) καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἑκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι, οἳ δὴ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. There seems to be no reason to refer the words, as Stein does, to the public sacrifices.

15. ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, i. e. the public meal. Cf. Xen. *l. c.* xv. 4 ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηνήν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρία γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖπνῳ ἐτίμησεν.

16. δύο χοίνικας, κ.τ.λ. The prisoners at Sphacteria were allowed two Attic choenices of meal and two cotylae of wine, their servants receiving half this amount. The prisoners at Syracuse received for eight months a cotyle of water, and two cotylae of food. The Attic cotyle was

SPARTA.

The Kings
as judges.

τέρῳ καὶ οἴνου κοτύλῃν, παρεούσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι. τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τὰς γινόμενας τούτους φυλάσσειν, συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυ-²⁰θίους. δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μούνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μή περ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ, καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσίων πέρι. καὶ ἣν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι. καὶ παρίζειν βουλευούσι²⁵ τοῖσι γέρονσι, εἰούσι δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἣν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστά σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας

little more than half a pint; the Lacedaemonian would probably be half as much again, i. e. three quarters of a pint. Hultsch puts the cotyle at 0.2736 litre; and the choenix at 1.094 litre.

18. τὸν δὲ τοῦτο with τιμᾶσθαι.

19. μαντηίας, κ.τ.λ. So Cleomenes brought away the oracles of Laius from Athens, v. 90.

21. μούνους, i. e. without the assistance of the ephors or γέροντες

22. πατρούχου, i. e. ἔχουσα τὰ πατρώια—a representative of a family; see Append. 8. If no arrangement had been made by the father, a woman in this position would legally become the wife of her next of kin, who would by this marriage pass into her family, and so continue it. But as the degree of kinship might be open to doubt, more than one client would appear, and between these it would be necessary to decide. Similar cases at Athens were in the charge of the first archon. In the case of a poor woman who was the representative of a family, it might be necessary to *compel* the next of kin to

marry her; cf. the law of Charondas quoted in Diod. xii. 14. The Doric term for such an heiress was ἐπιπάμων or παμῶχος, whence Cobet would read here παμούχου. ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, 'ad quem pertineat illam habere,' Schwgh.; the phrase occurs without ἐς in ii. 36. 4, ix. 26.

23. ἐγγυήσῃ. Cf. *infra*. 130 Μεγάκλει ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμήν: the disposition would, in this case, be made by will.

ὁδῶν. Law suits might arise about these in so far as they formed boundaries of estates, and moreover they must not be obstructed or injured.

24. θετόν, 'adopted.' Adoptions were much more common in Greece than with us; see on the subject, Demosthenes, *in Leocharem*. Adoption before the king would at least secure publicity for the act.

25. παρίζειν. The word implies that the kings were not originally members ex officio of the council. See Plut. *Lyc.* 6; Paus. iii. 5. 2.

27. τοὺς μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ. There were of course Heracleids at Sparta

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ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐωντῶν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ 58

beside the kings; see Plut. *Lysand.* 24; and there were junior families in the royal houses, as we see from the story of Leotychidas and Demaratus.

28. δύο ψήφους. To this passage Thucydides may perhaps be referring in i. 20, when he asserts that the Greeks have a mistaken notion that the Spartan kings have two votes each, whereas they have but one; but if so he misunderstood it. The words in the text do not state this. They are however somewhat ambiguous; for it is not clear whether one relative gives two votes for both kings, one for each, or whether two relatives vote separately, each giving one vote for one of the kings. The second view would be certainly adopted were it not for the addition τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐωντῶν. The meaning is that there were two votes given for the two absent kings, and thus the vote of the relative, if he voted for both kings, would be a third vote, but it was really only a second vote, for the same person could not be nearest relative to both kings, the two houses being only related by a fictitious descent, and neither intermarrying into the other. This fact was probably overlooked by Herodotus when he wrote the text.—If we compare this account of the Spartan kings with the description of the royal power of Agamemnon, as given in the *Iliad*, we find much that is parallel—but also some

differences. (1) Nothing is said in Homer about oracles, etc., though Chalcas is attached to the army as a seer; (2) the civil jurisdiction of the king is more developed at Sparta; (3) the relations of the king and the council are better regulated. At Sparta also the community was far more powerful than we find it in the case of Agamemnon, and in this respect the monarchy at Ithaca presents a closer parallel; yet at Sparta the monarchy is more strictly hereditary than at Ithaca, so far as we can form an opinion. Of the domains of the Spartan kings Herodotus says nothing; but see Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xv. 3 καὶ γῆν δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιόικων πολέων ἀπέδειξεν ἐξαίρετον τοσαύτην ὥστε μήτε δεῖσθαι τῶν μετρίων μήτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν.

58. 1. δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινού. Though the monarchy is hereditary the kings hold their privileges from the people, or the community. In Homer, Agamemnon and Menelaus use language which implies that they have large domains, which are absolutely their property, e.g. Agamemnon offers seven cities, 'the last in sandy Pylos,' to Achilles, and Menelaus could establish Odysseus near him, μίαν πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξας αἰὲτ' ἐκπεριναίεταίονσι—but we find nothing of this in history, except in Thessaly and Macedonia (the Aleuadae offer Iolcus to Hippias on his expulsion; Amyntas offers Anthemus).

SPARTA.

Funerals
of the
Spartan
Kings.

κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. ἱππῆες
περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν,
κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιουῖσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι.
ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης 5
ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα·
μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεται. νόμος
δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θά-
νάτους ἐστὶ ὡς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ
Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὦν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ 10
χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεὰν γὰρ
ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λα-
κεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιοί-
κων ἀναγκαστοὺς εἰς τὸ κῆδος ἵεναι, τούτων ὦν καὶ
τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλ- 15
λεχθέωσι εἰς τὴν πόλιν πολλαὶ χιλιάδες σύμμιγα τῇσι γυ-

4. λέβητα. There is no other instance of λέβης in this sense, i. e. as a possible bell. In the *Iliad* it is a vessel for cooking; in the *Odyssey* for washing.

6. καταμιαίνεσθαι, 'to mourn,' i. e. rend the garments, tear the hair and throw dust on the head and clothing, cf. *Il.* xviii. 23, of Achilles on hearing of the death of Patroclus, Ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν Χεύατο κακὴν κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἦσχυνε πρόσωπον· Νεκταρέω δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαιν' ἀμφίζανε τέφρη, κ.τ.λ.

12. ἐκ πάσης, κ.τ.λ. Pausanias iv. 14. 4 mentions among the duties imposed on the Messenians this: προείρητο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ.

καὶ τοῖς παραβᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο ποινὴ.

13. ἀριθμῷ, 'by number,' i. e. in a fixed number. These lamentations were apparently uttered in the case of the kings only, who were regarded as 'heroes' (*Xen. Rep. Lac.* xv. ult.); for private persons a much simpler funeral was required. Cf. *Plut. Inst. Lac.* x. 18 περιεῖλε (sc. ὁ Λυκούργος) δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισμοὺς, συνθάπτειν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντας, τὸ σῶμα περιστέλλειν κατ' ἴσον ἅπαντας· ἀνείλε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημείων, πλὴν τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ πεσόντων, καὶ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς. For wailings at Oriental funerals cf. ix. 24. 4. Lycurgus also ordained that the dead should be buried within the city, not as in other cities in the suburbs.

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ναιξί, κόπτονταί τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ
 διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενό-
 μενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον. ὅς
 20 δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ
 εἶδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι.
 ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταταί^a
 σφι οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίξει^b, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας
 τὰς ἡμέρας.

Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὗτοι τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσησι. ἐπεὰν 59
 ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεύς,
 οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βα-
 σιλείῃ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὤφειλε· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι ὁ κα-
 5 τιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετίει
 τῇσι πόλισι πάσῃσι. συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἴγυ- 60
 πτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταί

Spartan
 customs
 compared
 with Per-
 sian and
 Egyptian.

^a οὐ κατίσταται Krüg.

^b οὐδ' ἀρχαὶ οὐδὲ γερουσίῃ συνίξει Van H.

21. ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη. Cf. Thuc. ii. 34. The body was brought home if possible. So of Agesipolis who died in Thrace ἐν μέλιτι τεθείς καὶ κομισθεὶς οἵκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς, Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 19; and of Agesilaus, Plut. *Ages.* 40 οἱ παρόντες Σπαρτιάται κῆρον ἐπιτήξαντες τῷ νεκρῷ, μέλιτος οὐ παρόντος, ἀπῆγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. In Plut. *Apophth. Lac. Ages.* 79, we are told that Agesilaus forbade any image of himself to be made: ἐνετείλατο τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, μήτε πλαστὰν μήτε μιμηλὰν τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα ποιήσασθαι. Εἰ γάρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τοῦτό μου μνημεῖον ἔσται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδ' οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες, βαναύσων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ἔργα ὄντες.

22. For private persons mourning was allowed for eleven days, when

it came to an end with a festival to Ceres, Plut. *Lyc.* 27.

59. 5. τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον, 'owing from time past'; cf. v. 82. 1.

60. 2. οἱ κήρυκες. Such were the Talthybiadae, see vii. 134. αὐληταί would be specially important because the Spartan army marched into battle to the sound of the flute; cf. Thuc. v. 70. The cooks again were, to a certain degree, public officers, being required for the *φιδίτια* and for the public festivals. Athenaeus speaks of statues set up by the cooks in the Hyacinthian way, 173 f. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος . . . ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ φησὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης ὑακινθίδος ἰδρῦσθαι ἥρωας Μάττων καὶ Κεράωνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις ποιούντων τε τὰς μάζας καὶ κεραννύντων τὸν οἶνον διακόνων.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 535; Ol. 61. 2.

καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώϊας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλη-
τῆς τε αὐλητέῳ γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κῆρυξ
κῆρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας 5
παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι.

- 61 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομέ-
νεα ἑόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ
προεργαζόμενον^a ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων
οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ^b χρεώμενος. Κλεο-
μένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλενε τὸν Δημάρη- 5
τον παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβα-
σιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιεύμενος. Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν
Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο.
καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἵτιος,
γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν¹⁰
Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα
ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλ-
λίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μέν-

Ariston and
his wife.

^a προεργαζόμενον Eltz: προσεργαζόμενον Libb.

^b ἄγῃ P corr.: ἄγει R: ἄτηι A B.

Such cooks apparently accompanied the king in campaigns; see ix. 82.

5. ἐπιτιθέμενοι, sc. τῇ τέχνῃ; cf. i. 1. ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

61. 3. προεργαζόμενον. The *προ*- is not temporal, but = 'for,' 'in behalf of.' Cf. ii. 158. 26 τῷ βαρβάρῳ προεργάζεσθαι. So in πρόμαχος προναυμαχεῖν, etc. διέβαλε, πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, Stein; cf. 50. 7.

6. ἐπίβασιν, 'attack.' But Schwgh. suggests 'footing.' Cf. Plato, *Rep.* vi. 511 B, where the word is joined with ὁρμαί in a sense which favours Schwgh., τὰς ὑποθέσεις ποιούμενος οὐκ ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ὑποθέσεις, οἷον

ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὁρμάς, *infr.* 65. 18.

7. Ariston was a contemporary of Anaxandridas, c. 550 B.C.

9. συνεγινώσκετο, 'acknowledged'; so in v. 86. 7, and elsewhere; but this use is peculiar to Herodotus (Krüger).

11. προσεκέετο, 'was attached,' as we say.

13. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, 'and not only so, but.' Stein compares the Platonic *Eryxias*, p. 400 A ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι σιδηρῷ σταθμῷ νομίζουσι καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τῷ ἀχρείῳ τοῦ σιδήρου. The use is different *infr.* 137. 20.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 535; Ol. 61. 2.

τοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη. ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ
 15 εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλ-
 βίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρώ-
 σα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους,
 ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐ-
 τὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν. τὸ δ'
 20 ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένῃ ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου
 ἱροῦ. ὅπως δὲ ἐνείκειε ἡ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῷ γαλμα
 ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσετο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης
 τὸ παιδίον. καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τρο-
 φῷ γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανείσαν δὲ ἐπει-
 25 ρέσθαι μιν ὃ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι
 ὥς παιδίον φορέει, τὴν δὲ κελεῦσαί οἱ δέξαι^a, τὴν δὲ
 οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρῆσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων μηδενὶ
 ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωυτῇ κελεύειν ἐπιδέξαι^a.
 ὀρώσαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ιδέσθαι,
 30 οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι^a τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ κατα-
 ψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὥς καλλιστεύσει
 πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης
 τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἶδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς
 γάμου ὄρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ Ἀλκείδεω, οὗτος δὴ

^a δέξαι . . . ἐπιδέξαι Schäf. : δεῖξαι . . . ἐπιδείξαι Libb.

14. ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν. Stein re-
 gards the accusative as resumed in
 αὐτήν, l. 18; Krüger would join it
 with μαθοῦσα, or would substitute
 οἰκτίζουσα for ἐοῦσαν. Van H.
 would replace καὶ δυσειδέα by
 ἐλεοῦσα.

19. Helen and Menelaus were
 buried, such was the legend, in a
 grave at Therapne, S.E. of Sparta.
 Over the sepulchre a temple was
 raised in which they were wor-
 shipped. The shrine of Phoebe lay

in the plain below, Therapne being
 on an elevated platform. Paus. iii.
 14. 9 τὸ δὲ Φοίβαιόν ἐστιν ἐκτὸς τῆς
 πόλεως, Θεράπνης οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκός.
 ib. 19. 9 Μενελάου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ
 ναός, καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ Ἑλένην
 ἐνταῦθα ταφῆναι λέγουσιν.

25. καὶ τήν, the nurse; τὴν δέ, the
 goddess; τὴν δέ, the nurse; τὴν δέ
 (28), the goddess.

31. καλλιστεύσει. Sparta being
 the land of fair women, since Homer's
 day.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 535; Ol. 61. 2.

- 62 ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος. τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἐκνίξε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε. αὐτός τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ, τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ πάντων ἓν, τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἔληται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως 5 τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, καταινέει ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν. μετὰ δὲ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἴλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἀγητος, καὶ αὐτὸς 10 τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπειράτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπίει ἀπάγεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέραν ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δέ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων 5

Birth of
Demara-
tus;

62. 1. ἐκνίξε, lit. 'irritated,' 'would not let him rest.' Wesseling quotes Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 60 ἐτέροις ἐτέρων ἔρως ὑπέκνισε φρένας. Cf. vii. 10 ε. 3.

6. τὴν ὁμοίην, sc. ἀμοιβήν, 'the equivalent,' *infr.* 1. 11; *supr.* 21. Herodotus often uses feminine adjectives without a subs. In this instance the adj. may be connected with δωτίνην, which, however, is better taken adverbially, as i. 69 ult.

8. ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν, sc. ἀλλήλοισι. Cf. i. 146. 15 σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν.

14. τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ. Cf. Thuc. i. 34 ἀπάτη παράγεσθαι.

63. 2. ἀποπεμψάμενος. See note on v. 39. 11 ἐν δέ οἱ. Herodotus places the enclitic pronouns after such connecting particles as γάρ, δέ, etc. In v. 46. 11 we have οἱ γάρ μιν, *ib.* 92 β. 8 ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης. So καί μιν, οἱ μιν, τό σφι, etc., and after τις, μέν, etc., *infr.* 63. 4.

5. ἐν θώκῳ = ἐν βουλῇ. Cf. *Od.* v. 3 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θῶκόνδε καθίζανον. The story implies a considerable separation of home and public life at Sparta; and in this respect we may contrast with it the story of Cleomenes and Gorgo in v. 51, but cf. *infr.* 69. 5.

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν
 χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων
 συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας “οὐκ ἂν
 ἐμὸς εἴη.” τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μὲν-
 10 τοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραντίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἠύξετο,
 καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν
 Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρητον
 δὲ αὐτῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο διὰ τόδε. πρότερον τούτων
 πανδημεὶ Σπαρτιῆται Ἀρίστωνι, ὥς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι
 15 διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενο-
 μένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν 64
 οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος
 Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε, Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασι-
 λειάν. ἔδεε δέ, ὥς ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα his quarrel
 5 καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιλείης διὰ τὰ . . ^a Κλεομέ- with
 νεῖ διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπα- Cleomenes.
 γαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ’
 Αἰγινητέων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος.

^a δι’ ἧς Struve, Bekk. : St. lacunam indicavit, quam sic explebat : διὰ τοιήνδε
 αἰτίην. ‘Nonne sufficit διὰ τὰδε· Κλεομένει?’ Van H.

8. ἀπομόσας. Cf. *infr.* 65. 17.
 The ἀπο- implies swearing that a
 thing is *not*.

9. πρῆγμα οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο,
 ‘took no heed,’ ‘paid no regard.’

11. μετέμελε. In Attic we should
 have had μετέμελε impersonal, with
 a genitive.

14. ὥς ἀνδρί, κ.τ.λ. Yet Hero-
 dotus says not a word of his exploits,
 nor have we any information else-
 where which enables us to supply the
 deficiency.

16. ἀρὴν = εὐχὴν. Cf. the name
 Arete in the *Odyssey*.

64. 5. διὰ τὰ. If we begin a fresh
 clause with διὰ τὰ in the sense of ‘on
 which account,’ the meaning is not
 good, for the attack on Cleomenes
 by Demaratus was not due to any
 doubts about his own legitimacy.
 It is also doubtful whether διὰ τὰ can
 bear the meaning given (though
 Schwgh. takes the words in this
 sense, for which δι’ ἧς are required).
 The sense is given in Stein’s διὰ
 τοιήνδε αἰτίην or Van Herwerden’s
 διὰ τὰδε. Cf. *infr.* 65. 6.

6. πρότερον. See v. 75.

SPARTA. B. C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

Leotychi-
das claims
the throne.

65 ὁρμηθεὶς ὦν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης συντίθεται Λευ-
 τυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρειο τοῦ Ἄγιοι, ἐόντι οἰκίῃς τῆς αὐ-
 τῆς Δημαρήτῳ, ἐπ' ᾧ τε, ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασι-
 λέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔψεται οἱ ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ
 Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονὼς 5
 διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἄρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκα-
 λον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δη-
 μάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀποστερέει Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γά-
 μου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἄρπάσας καὶ σχὼν
 γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἐχθρὴ ἡ ἐς 10
 τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένηος
 προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται Δημαρήτῳ^a, φὰς
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων οὐκ ἐόντα
 παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίωκε ἀνα-
 σῶζων ἐκείνο τὸ ἔπος, τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ 15
 ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλόμε-
 νος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε φὰς οὐκ ἐωυτοῦ μιν εἶναι.

^a Δημαράτου P R s, Krüg.

65. 2. From Theopompus we have
 two lines in the Eurypontid family;
 cf. viii. 131.

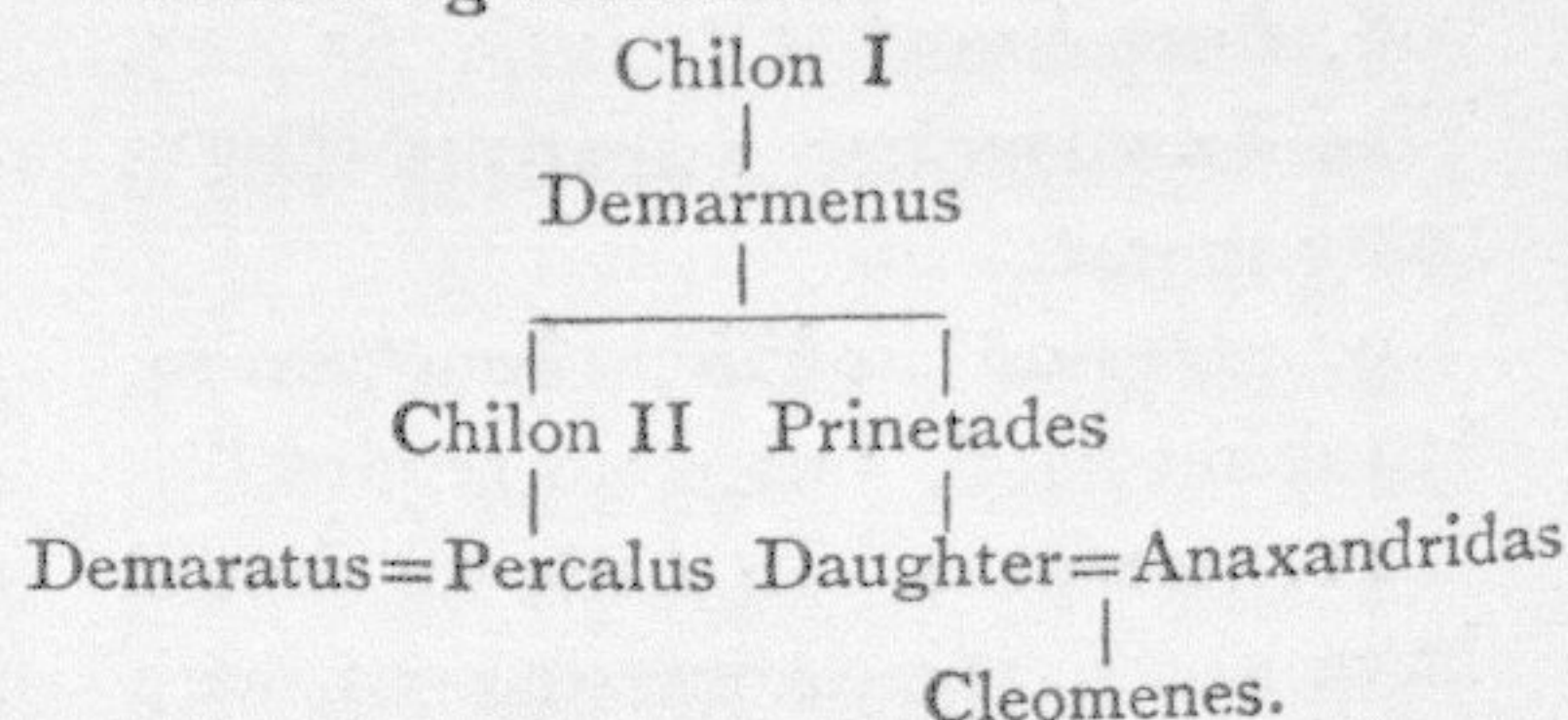
Theopompus	Theopompus
Archidamus	Anaxandridas
Zeuxidamus	Archidamus
Anaxidamus	Anaxilas
Archidamus	Leotychidas
Agasicles	Hippoclidus
Ariston	Agesilaus (Agis)
Demaratus.	Menares
	Leotychidas.

That it should have been necessary
 to go back so many generations to
 find a collateral branch is very re-
 markable.

6. ἄρμοσαμένου. Cf. iii. 137. 19 κε-
 λεύων εἰπεῖν Δαρείῳ ὅτι ἄρμостαι τὴν

Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκῆδης γυναῖκα.

7. We may perhaps construct the
 following stemma:—



12. κατόμνυται, 'swears a de-
 claration against.' The dative is
 used as with κατυβρίζειν, καταγελᾶν,
 cf. Kall. Comm. Crit. 21.

13. οὐκ ἰκνεομένως, 'without
 right'; cf. *supr.* 57. 22 ἐς τὸν ἰκνέε-
 ται ἔχειν αὐτήν, and *infr.* 86 a. 11
 ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ.

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

τούτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέ-
 φαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὔτε
 20 ἰκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυ-
 ρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἐτύγχανον πάρεδροί τε
 ἔόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος. τέλος δὲ ἔόν- 66
 των περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι ἐπειρέσθαι
 τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ
 Δημάρητος. ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς
 5 Κλεομένεος ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεο-
 μένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι
 δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν
 πρόμαντιν ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι
 λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτῶντων τῶν θεοπρό-
 10 πων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα.

Demaratus
is deposed.

18. ἐπιβατεύων, lit. 'footing upon.' Homer has ἐπιβαίνειν εὐκλείης, etc.; Soph. *O.C.* 189 εὐσεβίας ἐπιβαίνων with allusion to the original sense of ἐπιβαίνειν. In *iii.* 63. 16, *ix.* 95. 4 the word is used of taking up a false ground for action, and perhaps so here; cf. 61. 6.

66. 2. νεικέων, i. e. trials at law, or before a court.

4. ἐκ προνοίης = 'by the (previous) arrangement of.'

7. Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν. The prophetess at Delphi was of course the woman who sat on the sacred tripod in the innermost recess or cave of the temple, and gave her utterances under the influence of the mephitic vapour, which was assisted by eating laurel leaves, and drinking from the sacred spring. In *Eur. Ion*, 1323, she is spoken of as πασῶν Δελφίδων ἐξαίρετος, and Plutarch, *Pyth. orac.* 22, mentions one who

was nobly born but brought up ἐν οἰκίᾳ γεωργῶν πενήτων. The προφήτης (Herod. viii. 36) announced the oracle to the enquirer. There were also five ὅσιοι (Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 9 πέντε δ' εἰσὶν ὅσιοι διὰ βίου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δρῶσιν οὗτοι καὶ συνιερουργοῦσιν ἅτε γεγονέναι δοκοῦντες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος) and two priests. Cobon may have been one of the ἀριστεῖς of whom we hear at Delphi; cf. Hermann, *Gott. Alt.* § 40.

10. μὴ. οὐκ would have been more correct, but μὴ is found not only after λέγω, when a command or wish is conveyed, e. g. Thuc. ii. 5 τὰ τε ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν, but also after νομίζω, when an opinion is expressed, Thuc. vi. 102 νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι κωλύσαι τὸν τειχισμόν. On the other hand, in expressing a fact strongly οὐ takes the place of μὴ as in Soph. *Ant.* 378

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

ὕστερῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

67

Demaratus
and his
mother.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιληίης οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὀνείδεος. μετὰ τῆς βασιληίης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἦρχε αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχήν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρή-
του, ὁ Λευτυχίδης γεγωνὼς ἤδη αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλῳ τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀλγήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρηῆσθαι, κεί-
νον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος ἦιε ἐκ τοῦ θεή-
τρου ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος
68 ἔθνε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχχνων κατικέτευε, λέγων τοιάδε. “ὦ μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἰκετεύω καὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου

ἀντιλέγω τήνδ' οὐκ εἶναι παῖδ' Ἀντιγόνην.

67. 5. The Gymnopaediae was one of the three great festivals of Sparta, the other two being the Carneia and Hyacinthia. It is said by Eusebius to have been founded in Ol. 27. 3 = 630 B. C. It took place in the hottest part of the year, Plato *Legg.* i. 633 D ἔτι δὲ κὰν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδείαις δειναὶ καρτερήσεις παρ' ἡμῖν γίγνονται, τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ῥώμῃ διαμαχομένων, and was one of the few occasions when strangers were

freely admitted to Sparta (Plut. *Ages.* 29). For an account of the festival, see Athen. xiv. 630 f.

8. λάσθῃ, 'mockery,' 'insult.' ἄρχειν, 'to be a magistrate.'

12. μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. The words are added for the sake of the contrast; cf. vii. 8 γ. ult.

13. κατακαλυψάμενος, 'obvoluto capite,' a sign of dejection and distress in Greece as at Rome. Cf. *Od.* x. 53 καλυψάμενος δ' ἐνὶ νηὶ Κεῖμην.

15. τῷ Διὶ. Cf. 68. 4.

68. 4. καταπτόμενος, 'appealing

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

5 Διὸς τοῦδε, φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείην, τίς μεν ἐστὶ
πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ. Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι
νείκεσι λέγων κυέουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὐ-
τω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστωνα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότε-
ρον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων
10 τὸν ὀνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. ἐγὼ σε ὦν
μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές· οὔτε γάρ, εἴ περ
πεποίηκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας, με-
τὰ πολλέων δέ· ὁ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρί-
στωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἂν οἱ
καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε, 69
ἢ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ παῖ, ἐπεῖτε με λιτῇσι με-
τέρχεαι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθείην, πᾶν ἐς σὲ κατειρήσεται
τῶληθές. ὥς με ἡγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρί-
5 τη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρί-
στωνι, συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε ἐμοὶ

to'; cf. viii. 65. 35 ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Δημα-
ράτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτό-
μενος. In this case the word may
have its original sense of 'touching,'
'laying hold of,' for τοῦδε implies
that there was a statue of Zeus
Herkeios at hand. Zeus Herkeios
was at once the god of the ἔρκος or
enclosure, and of the family as a
group of relations; cf. Soph. *Ant.*
487.

10. σε μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν, 'en-
treat you by the gods.' Cf. the use
of ἱκνοῦμαι, Soph. *Aj.* 588, *O. C.* 275.
πρός is usual with the genitive in these
constructions, but we also find the
genitive only; cf. *Od.* ii. 68 λίσσομαι
Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου, and *ib.* xi. 66 σὲ
τῶν ὀπιθεν γουνάζομαι.

12. μούνη δὴ, κ.τ.λ. The views
taken of the Spartan women differ

widely in Greek writers; Aris-
totle formed a very poor opinion
of them, *Pol.* ii. 9. 6 = 1269 b. 22;
on the other hand, Plutarch, *Lyc.*
15, represents the Spartans as deny-
ing the existence of adultery among
them; cf. *Id. Apophth. Lac. Lyc.*
20 τοσαύτη ἦν σωφροσύνη τῶν γυναι-
κῶν, ὥς ἀπιστον εἶναι τὸ τῆς μοιχείας
παρ' αὐταῖς. See also Isocrates,
Panath. 259, which is however a
highly rhetorical passage (De Cou-
langes, *Nouvelles Recherches*, p. 72;
Newman on Arist. *Pol.* l. c.).

69. 3. ἐς σέ, 'for you to hear,'
implying more openness and publi-
city than σοί. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 93
ἐς πάντας αὐδα. So ἐς τὸ φανερόν
λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι, etc., *infr.* 129. 7.

5. This story also implies that the
king was much absent from home,

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

περιετίθεε. καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων. ὥς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσιν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἴη μοι ὁ δούς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη αὐτὸν οὐ κα-¹⁰ λῶς ποιεῖν ἀπαρνεόμενον· ὀλίγῳ γάρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναί μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὁρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔμαθε ὥς θείου εἴη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρώϊου τοῦ παρὰ τῇσι θύρῃσι τῇσι αὐ-¹⁵ λείῃσι ἰδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστραβάκου· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. οὐ-
τω ὦ παῖ ἔχεις πᾶν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας, καί τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστράβακος ὁ ἥρωας, ἢ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῇ²⁰ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσειέ σε ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γάρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέκω ἐξήκειν), αἰδρεῖν τῶν τοιούτων κείνος²⁵

and the separation of men and women was no doubt more marked at Sparta than elsewhere in Greece; cf. 63. 5.

13. ἔμαθε, 'perceived,' as often. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 294 καὶ γὰρ μαθοῦς' ἔληξα.

15. παρὰ τῇσι θύρῃσι αὐλείῃσι, i. e. the door of the court, opening into the street. See Blumner, *Die Griech. Privatalt.* 148. n. 4, who quotes Theophrastus, *Charact.* 18 ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρώτη θύρα τῆς οἰκίας. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 18 ἐκτὸς αὐλείων θυρῶν, and especially *Od.* xxi. 240, 389 f. In Lysias, *De caede Eratosthenis*, § 17, the αὐλειος θύρα is distinguished from the μέταυλος.

16. Astrabacus. Cf. Paus. iii. 16. 9 μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξόανον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἀγίδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὐρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν, κ.τ.λ. The shrine lay near the temple of Lycurgus, Paus. *l. c.* § 6. The word Astrabacus was thought to be connected with ἀστράβη, a pack-saddle; hence the suggestion in c. 68. 7.

20. ἐν γάρ σε, κ.τ.λ. This contains an answer to the suggestion in 68. 7.

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος· τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐν-
 νεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτε-
 λέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὦ παῖ ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ὥς ἀνοίη^a
 30 τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος
 τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκή-
 κοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι
 ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας.” ἡ μὲν δὴ 70
 ταῦτα ἔλεγε, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπό-
 δια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἡλιν, τῷ λόγῳ φὰς ὥς ἐς
 Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακε-
 5 δαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιχει-
 ρεῖν ἐδίωκον. καί κως ἔφθῃ ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς ὁ
 Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἄπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐ-
 τοῦ ἀπαιρέονται, μετὰ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ
 10 Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βα-
 σιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ καὶ
 γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε. οὕτω ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην
 Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος τύχῃ, ἄλλα τε Λα-
 κεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισί τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυν-

He leaves
Sparta and
escapes to
Persia.

^a ἀγνοίη Valck.

28. Rationem quare octavum mensem premat Herodotus, prodit Creuzerus, p. 240: ‘Nimirum Herodotus ejusque aequalis Hippocrates applicuerant se ad vulgarem sententiam, quae partum octavo mense aut edi posse negaret, aut certe vitalem fore.’ Gaisford.

70. 11. We hear of Demaratus at the Persian court in vii. 4; he also sent an intimation of the invasion to Sparta, vii. ult., and accompanied

Xerxes on his march. The cities given to him were Pergamum, Teuthrania and Halisarna, which remained in the possession of his descendants in the fourth century; Xen. *Anab.* ii. 1. 3; vii. 8. 17; *Hell.* iii. 1. 6.

13. Λακεδαιμονίοισι. Here again (cf. *supr.* 63. 14) Herodotus is alluding to something which is quite unknown to us, so far as ἔργα are concerned; and the specimens which Plutarch (*Apophth. Lac. Demarati*)

SPARTA. B. C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

θείς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπ-¹⁵
 πῳ προσέβαλε, μῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων
 βασιλέων ἐκ Σπάρτη ποιήσας.

- 71 Leotychi-
das and his
children; Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου καταπαυ-
 σθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς
 Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων
 ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης·
 πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον.⁵
 Λευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην
 γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐοῦσαν Μενίου ἀδελφεὴν Διακτο-
 ρίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν,
 θυγάτηρ δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου
 72 γαμέει δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης
 κατεγύρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ

gives of the γνῶμαι of Demaratus incline us to think meanly of Spartan wit or Spartan judgment. The dative is = 'in the opinion of,' as though with παρά or ἐν.

16. προσέβαλε. The word perhaps implies that he recorded the victory in the name of the state, not in his own name, but it is sometimes used in the simple sense of 'conferred on'; cf. i. 136 *ult.* ἄσπην πατρὶ προσβάλλη, and it may be so used here.

71. 3. The grand-daughter of Zeuxidamus was called Cynisca; cf. Paus. iii. 8. 1 ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμῳ καὶ θυγάτηρ ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμότατα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, καὶ πρώτη τε ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch, *Ages.* 20, says that this was done at the suggestion of her brother Agesilaus, in order that the Spartans

might believe that such victories were a mere matter of expense, not of ἀρετή. Another Spartan of the name is mentioned by Xen. *Anab.* vii. 1. 13.

10. δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω. By this arrangement Leotychidas prevented any rivalry between the families of the daughter and the grandson.

72. 2. τίσιν τοιήνδε. Herodotus has much to say about τίσις, in which he includes not only vengeance for offences against any deity, or for breaches of settled compact, but for those against the just treatment of man by man. Cf. i. 13 (Candaules); i. 86, viii. 105 (where we are told of Hermotimus τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν), iii. 126, 128 end (of Oroetes and Polycrates), *infr.* 84, vii. 134 f. etc.

SPARTA. B.C. 491; Ol. 72. 2.

ἐξέτισε. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην, his expedi-
 παρεὼν δέ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε tion to
 5 ἀργύριον πολλόν. ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἄλους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Thessaly
 στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλέῃ^a ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε and exile
 ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθείς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ from
 κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ. Sparta.
 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον· τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει 73
 ὠδώθη^b τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Cleomenes
 Λευτυχίδεα ἦιε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας, δεινὸν τινὰ σφι and Leoty-
 ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ chidas at
 5 Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, Aegina.
 ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας
 δέκα Αἰγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ
 γένει ἦγον, καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρίον τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου
 καὶ Κάσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἳ περ εἶχον μέγιστον
 10 κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφεας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθήκην
 κατατίθενται^c ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτησι Ἀθηναίους.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα ἐπαίστον γενόμενον κακο- 74

^a χειρίδι πλέῃ Wess. : χειρὶ διπλῇ Libb.
 (cf. Van H.) : ὠρθώθη s, Krüg.

^b ὠδώθη A B R : εὐωδώθη P
^c παρατίθενται A B C.

3. ἐς Θεσσαλίην. The date of this expedition is uncertain, but it probably took place in 476 B.C. See *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 265.

4. ἐδωροδόκησε. There appears to be little reason to doubt the corruption of the Spartans. Kings and ephors are equally implicated, *infr.* 82; viii. 5; Plut. *Them.* 19; *Per.* 22; Thuc. v. 16. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9. 26 = 1271 a. 3 (φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης) for the Gerontes, and for the ephors *ib.* 1270 b. 9 ff.

6. χειρίδι πλέῃ. The *χειρίς* would be more of a bag or sleeve than our glove is.

8. ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην. In like manner Tegea was the refuge of Hegesistratus when escaping from Sparta, though Herodotus observes that Tegea and Sparta were not on good terms at the time, ix. 37. 24; and at a later date Pausanias the king retired to Tegea.

73. 2. ὠδώθη. Cf. iv. 139. 12 τὰ ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται.

4. ἔγκοτον = κότον, *infr.* 133. 5.

5. ἀμφοτέρων. Cf. *supr.* 50. 9.

SPARTA. Circa B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

Cleomenes
in Arcadia.

τεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δειῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ
 ὑπεξέσχεν ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν
 Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα, συνιστὰς τοὺς
 Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων 5
 σφί ἢ μὲν ἔψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγέηται, καὶ δὴ
 καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς
 προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν^a τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ
 τῇ πόλει λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν^b Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ,
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ¹⁰
 πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασιῆς τις περιθέει
 κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρίς, ἐν τῇ ἢ πηγῇ αὕτη τυγχάνει
 75 ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῶ. μαθόντες
 δὲ Κλεομένεα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον
 αὐτὸν δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ

^a ἐξορκοῦν A² Valck.: ἐξόρκου A B: ἐξορκῶν cett.^b ὑπὸ τῶν Wess.: τῶν A B: ὑπ' P R.

74. 3. Cf. vii. 213. 7, where Ephialtes takes refuge in Thessaly.

7. πρόθυμος ἦν... ἐξορκοῦν. So Valck. for ἐξορκῶν, 'was eager to swear them'; the words do not imply that he actually did so. Cf. Plato, *Euthyphr.* 14 B οὐ πρόθυμός με εἰ διδάξαι. The accusative (ὕδωρ) is remarkable. Krüger explains it on the analogy of ὁμνύναι θεόν, and even closer is *Il.* xiv. 271 νῦν μοι ὁμοσσον ἁάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.

8. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, i. e. 'in the district of this city.' No doubt the custom of swearing by the Styx was one of the national customs of Arcadia. In Homer and Hesiod the water is used as the most solemn pledge, *Il.* xv. 37, Hes. *Theog.* 785. Two reasons may perhaps be given for the legendary powers of the stream, which is moreover the only

waterfall of importance in Greece:

(1) The water being icy cold is dangerous to drink, and for this reason it may have been used as a sort of ordeal; (2) though the water is gathered in a basin, this basin cannot be seen except on a near view; from a distance the fall disappears behind rocks, and thus might be said to penetrate the earth to the under world. The waterfall is situated in Mt. Chelmos, and the stream is an affluent of the Crathis; see *Hist. of Greece*, i. 11, and what is quoted there.

13. πρὸς Φενεῶ, Pheneus being the nearest town of importance. The river Pheneus flows through Katavothra into the Ladon and Alpheus, but the Crathis flows through Achaea to the Corinthian Gulf.

75. 3. δείσαντες. A combined

SPARTA. B.C. 488(?); Ol. 73. 1.

πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε his mad-
ness and
death.
 5 μανίῃ^a νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον· ὅκως
 γὰρ τεφρὸν ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον
 τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονή-
 σαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθείς τὸν
 φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν·
 10 οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπείλκε
 τά μιν αὐτῖς^b ποιήσει^c, ἐς δὲ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος
 (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. Κλεομένης
 δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐωυτὸν
 λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέ-
 15 βαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν
 ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα
 ἀπῖκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ,
 ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέ-
 γνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητον λέγειν [γενόμενα]^d ὥς δὲ Ἀθη-

^a μανίης B² P R s: μανίας Cob.^b λυθείς A².^c ποιήσει Schwgh.: ποιήσειεν Libb.^d γενόμενα ante λέγειν P R: om. Gompertz: λεγόμενα Reiske.

Arcadia would have been a serious danger to Sparta. The foundation of Megalopolis in the fourth century B.C. realized to some extent the project of Cleomenes, and even in the fifth century we hear of a war between Sparta and all Arcadia, except Mantinea (ix. 7).

5. ὑπομαργότερον. The word is only used by Herodotus, and always in the comparative. He applies it to Cleomenes (here), to Cambyses (iii. 29), and the brother of Maeandrius (iii. 145). For ὑπό in composition, see *supr.* 38. 12 note, and with the comparative, which expresses 'inclined to madness,' cf. *θηλυδρίας καὶ μαλακώτερος* (vii. 153

ult.), ὑπαφρονέστεροι (iv. 95. 7), ὑποψαμμοτέρην (ii. 12. 13), αὐθαδέστεροι (*infr.* 92. 13).

8. ἐν ξύλῳ, 'in the stocks.' Cf. ix. 37. 11.

11. αὐτῖς = εἰσαὐθῖς. Cf. vii. 10 δ. 3.

12. τῶν τις εἰλωτέων. Cf. *infr.* 80. 3.

17. καταχορδεύων. 'cutting into strips' = ἐπιτάμνων κατὰ μῆκος.

19. γενόμενα. The position of this word varies in the MSS., some placing it after λέγειν, some before. It is much better away altogether. The meaning required is, 'to say what she said about Demaratus,' but if γενόμενα is retained we must

ARGOS. B.C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

Cleomenes:
his invasion
of Argos.

ναῖοι μούνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε²⁰
τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν
τοῦ Ἀργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης
καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων
76 ἐνέπρησε. Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη
Ἀργος αἰρήσειν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ
ποταμὸν Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος
λίμνης· τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐσχάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦ-
σαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη⁵
τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι· ἀπικόμενος δ' ὦν
ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ.
καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεε οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι
μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολίητας,
Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξανα-¹⁰
χωρήσας τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος
δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφεας ἤγαγε ἐς τε τὴν

translate, 'to advise what was done about Demaratus.'

20. μούνοι. So the Athenians have a special account, unknown to the rest of the Greeks, about the conduct of Adeimantus in the battle of Salamis (viii. 94).

ἐς Ἐλευσίνα. Cf. v. 74.

21. τῶν θεῶν, i. e. Demeter and Persephone. Cf. ix. 65 ult. τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνακτόριον.

23. καταγινέων. Schweigh. and Krüger understand the preposition to imply 'bringing home,' because Cleomenes gave out that he was accepting a ransom for the captives (*infr.* 79. 4). Stein suggests a local meaning, the grove of Argus being on a hill.

76. 3. The lake of Stymphalus lies at the foot of Mount Cyllene, and

the water passes away under Mount Apelauron, reappearing at the foot of Mount Chaon, in the river Erasinus. Cf. Baedeker, *Griechenland*, p. 301.

6. The river Erasinus was at this time regarded as the southern boundary of Argolis, and for this reason, when Cleomenes reached it, he sacrificed the διαβατήρια in the usual manner; cf. Thuc. v. 54.

8. οὐ ἐκαλλιέρεε, impersonal, 'the sacrifices were (not) favourable'; cf. ix. 38. 5 ὡς οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὥστε μάχεσθαι. For the middle voice of this word see *infr.* 82. 9.

11. Thyrea was within the limits of Spartan territory (cf. i. 82), and near the shore (Thuc. iv. 57).

12. ταῦρον. So in the *Odyssey*

ARGOS. B.C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίην. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον 77
 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν
 ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται
 Ἡσίπεια^a οὖνομα, ματαίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἴζοντο
 5 ἀντίοι^b τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
 τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ
 δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε
 τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τούτοισί τε
 καὶ Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ὧδε·
 10 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα
 ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρῃται,
 πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει.
 ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων·

^a ἡσίπεια A B¹: ἡ σίπεια C P: σήπεια R (sv).^b ἀντίον A B¹ C.

we find the Pylians sacrificing ταύρους παμμέλανας ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτῃ (iii. 6). The boats were supplied by Sicyon and Aegina, in spite of the friendship existing between Argos and Aegina, and the sovereignty which Argos claimed over both cities (*infr.* c. 92).

77. 4. Ἡσίπεια. So Stein, but the reading is uncertain; other MSS. have Σίπεια or Σήπεια. Nothing is known of the place, and Arist. *Pol.* v. 3 = 1303 a. 6, speaks of the battle as ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ (*infr.* 83. 1).

8. ἐπίκοινα, adverbial.

9. Μιλησίοισι. Cf. *supr.* c. 19. On the chronology, see Bk. v. Appendix 3 (p. 134).

10. The meaning of the oracle is obscure. The Argives seem to have regarded the victory of the female over the male as indicating a victory won by craft and subtlety over

courage and strength (though this leaves ἐξελάσῃ unexplained). Later authors interpreted the lines by a victory won by Telesilla, the Argive poetess, over Cleomenes who, after burning the grove of Argus, went on to attack the city; Paus. ii. 20. 9 ff. Τελέσιλλα δὲ οἰκέτας μὲν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητα ἢ γῆρας ὄπλα ἀδύνατοι φέρειν ἦσαν, τούτους μὲν πάντας ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὴ δὲ ὀπόσα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπελείπετο καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄπλα ἀθροίσασα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικίας τῶν γυναικῶν ὥπλιζεν, ὀπλίσασα δὲ ἔτασσε κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἠπίστατο, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Plut. *De Mul. Virt.* Ἀργεῖαι. [Van Herwerden suggests that ἡ θήλεια refers to Hera, cf. *infr.* c. 82.]

12. ἀμφιδρυφέας. Cf. *Il.* ii, 700.

ARGOS. B.C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

Battle of
Hesipeia.

- ‘δεινὸς ὄφης ἀέλικτος^a ἀπώλετο δουρὶ δαμασθεῖς.’
 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρείχε.¹⁵
 καὶ δὴ σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων
 χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποίουν τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης
 κῆρυξ προσημαῖνοι τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίουν καὶ οἱ
 78 Ἀργεῖοι τῶντὸ τοῦτο. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας
 τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτερος κῆρυξ σημήνειε, παραγ-
 γέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημήνη ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε
 ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. ταῦτα καὶ
 ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ἄριστον γὰρ⁵
 ποιευμένοισι τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο,
 καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δέ τι^b πλεῦνας ἐς
 τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀργου καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.
 79 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους
 ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα

^a ἀέλικτος A B¹ C: τριέλικτος R.^b δέ τι R (sv): δ’ ἔτι P: δέ A B C.

14. ὄφης. The serpent was the symbol of Argos. Soph. *Ant.* 125.

ἀέλικτος, ‘without coils.’ The various reading *τριέλικτος* is ‘thrice enfolded,’ i. e. with three coils.

15. συνελθόντα. Cf. v. 36. 3.

16. τῷ κήρυκι . . . χρᾶσθαι, i. e. to obey the orders given by him as though he were their own κῆρυξ.

78. 1. Cf. Polyænus, i. 14 Κλεομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, Ἀργείοις ἐπολέμει καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν· ἦν τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀκριβὴς φυλακὴ τῶν δρωμένων τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ πάντα ὅσα Κλεομένης βούλοιτο, ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐσήμαινε τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἴσα δρᾶν ἐσπούδαζον. ὀπλιζομένων ἀνθωπλίζοντο, ἐπεξιόντων ἀντεπεξήρσαν, ἀναπανομένων ἀνταπαύοντο. Κλεομένης λάθρα παράγ-

γελμα ἔδωκεν, ὅταν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι κηρύξη, ὀπλίσασθαι· ὁ μὲν ἐκήρυξεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι πρὸς ἄριστον ἐτράποντο. Κλεομένης ὀπλισμένους ἐπαγαγὼν εὐμαρῶς ἀόπλους καὶ γυμνοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἀπέκτεινεν. Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac. Cleom.* 2, supplies what is apparently a different account of the same battle: ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἐφθήμερος πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ποιησάμενος, φυλάξας αὐτοὺς τῇ τρίτῃ νυκτὶ κοιμωμένους, διὰ τὸ πεποιθῆναι ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐπέθετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν.

7. πολλῷ δέ τι. Cf. v. 92 ε. 14, *supr.* 69. 11 ὀλίγῳ τι.

79. 2. πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ‘learning from these,’ the names of those who were in the grove of Argus.

ARGOS. B. C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

ὀνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους,
 ἐξεκάλει δὲ φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα. ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ
 5 Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμά-
 λωτον ἐκτίνειν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς
 ἕκαστον^a ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκτείνει. ταῦτα δὲ κως
 γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἅτε
 γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσους, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς
 10 ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἐπρησσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ
 δένδρος κατείδε τὸ ποιούμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι
 ἐξήρισαν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν 80
 εἰλωτέων περιnéειν ὕλην τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων
 ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου δὲ ἤδη ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα
 αὐτομόλων τίνος εἶη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἀργου εἶναι.
 5 ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα εἶπε “ὦ Ἀπολλων χρη-
 στήριε, ἧ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος” Ἀργος αἰρήσειν·
 συμβάλλομαι δ' ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.” μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 81
 ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε ἀπιέναι ἐς
 Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστεάς ἦγε ἐς τὸ
 Ἡραϊον θύσων. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ

Cleomenes
at the
Heraeum.^a ἕκαστον Van H. : ἐκάστου R (sv) ; ἐκάστους cett. St.

5. δύο μνέαι. Cf. v. 77. 15.

6. κατὰ πεντήκοντα = ‘about fifty.’ Stein reads ὡς ἐκάστους, but no doubt ὡς ἕκαστον is right; each man came out singly.

10. ὃ τι ἐπρησσον, i. e. what became of them.

11. δένδρος. This appears to be an unique instance of this form in an early writer. δένδρεον is the Ionic form, and the only form known in Homer. δένδρον is used in Attic, except in dat. plural, where δένδρεσι is more common than δένδροις.

80. 2. Observe the careless repe-

tition of τὸ ἄλσος, in ll. 2, 3, 4. The second might be omitted without loss to the sense.

3. τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων. For this order of words, cf. *supr.* 75. 12; 37. 12. It is the normal order in Herodotus, though we also find ὑπό τευ τῶν Μιλησίων, *supr.* 5. 7.7. συμβάλλομαι. Cf. v. 1. 14. With ἐξήκειν, cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1182 *ιού, ιού, τὰ πάντ' ἂν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ, infr.* 82. 6 ἐξεληλυθέναι.

81. 3. τοὺς ἀριστεάς = τοὺς ἀρίστους.

4. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτόν. The acc.,

ARGOS. B. C. 495 (?); Ol. 71. 2.

ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν. 5
 ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ
 βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγῶσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε· ποιήσας
 82 δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ὑπῆ-
 γον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκή-
 σαντα οὐκ ἐλεῖν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὼν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλεῖν. ὁ
 δέ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων,
 ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὦν φάμενος, ἐπείτε δὴ τὸ 5
 τοῦ Ἄργου ἱρὸν εἶλε, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
 χρησμόν· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος,
 πρίν γε δὴ^a ἱροῖσι χρήσῃται καὶ μάθῃ εἶτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς
 παραδιδοῖ εἶτε οἱ ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε· καλλιερευμένῳ δὲ ἐν
 τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς 10
 ἐκλάμψαι, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκείην, ὅτι οὐκ
 αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλ-

^a πρίν ἢ Krüg.

which seems to be unique, is no doubt due to the analogy of *κελεύειν*. The Heraeum lay north-east of Argos, between that city and Mycenae, on a spur of Mount Euboea. The temple here mentioned was burnt down in 423 B.C. It appears to have belonged originally to Mycenae, and was connected with that city by a sacred road. See Baedeker, *Griechenland*, p. 284.

5. ὁ ἱρεὺς. The temple was in charge of a priestess, but doubtless there were subordinate servants about, one of whom was seized by the helots.

82. 1. ὑπῆγον . . . ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους. Cf. *supr.* 72. 7, where we have ὑπὸ δικαστήριον.

3. μιν = τὸ Ἄργος.

8. πρίν γε δὴ, κ.τ.λ. πρίν does

not take *ἄν* or *κε* with the subjunctive in Homer or Hesiod; the construction with *ἄν* occurs first in Theognis, 963, and then becomes the regular form after negatives; cf. Goodwin, *Syntax*, 639 ff. But in Herodotus *ἄν* is sometimes omitted with *πρίν*, cf. iv. 157. 11, and with *πρίν ἢ* this is the rule. [In i. 32. 25, 82. 36; iii. 109. 6 the MSS. vary between *πρίν* and *πρίν ἄν*, R (sv) inclining to the Attic use.] Cf. Kallenberg, *Crit. Comm.* p. 7; Krüger, *Griech. Sprach.* 54. 17. 9.

9. καλλιερευμένῳ. The middle voice of this verb is used in the sense 'to sacrifice for good omens'; for the active, see *supr.* 76. 8.

12. αἰρέει. Cf. v. 43. 6; iii. 155. 17. Stein takes αἰρέει to be future indicative, supporting his view by the ana-

SPARTA. B.C. 496 (?); Ol. 71. 1.

ματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν
στηθέων δὲ λάμψαντος πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς
15 ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα
ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτησι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς
διώκοντας.

"Αργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐ- 83
τῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, Distressed
ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν^a οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτά σφεας condition
οὔτοι^b ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἐωυτοὺς τὸ "Αργος ἐξέβαλον.
5 ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν
δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους
ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ'
'Αρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι
δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον
10 συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγισ οἱ 'Αργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

^a ἐπήβησαν v : ἐπέβησαν cett.^b οὕτω A B C : αὐτοί R (sv).

logy of ἤρέθην, αἵρεσις, but αἰρήσω
is the only form known to classical
Greek. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 125 χρόνῳ
αἰρεῖ, for the present.

13. αἰρέειν ἂν = ἤρεον ἂν, which is
put shortly for 'I should have per-
ceived that I was destined to take.'

14. ὁ θεός, both here and above
(1. 8) is merely 'the divinity'; the
deity meant is Hera. As the flame
appeared in the middle of the statue,
Cleomenes was to be content with
half a victory; had it appeared at
the head, it would have portended a
complete conquest of Argos (κατ'
ἄκρης).

83. 1. ἐχηρώθη. The number of
slain is given by Herodotus at 6000,
vii. 148. 11; by others at 7777. See
Busolt, G. G. ii. 50 n.

οἱ δοῦλοι. Not slaves in the

stricter sense, but serfs, or possibly
perioeci. Cf. Arist. Pol. v. 3 = 1303
a. 3 ἐν "Αργεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπο-
λομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος
ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περι-
οίκων τίνas. Plutarch attacks Hero-
dotus for this statement: *De Mul.*
Virt. 'Αργεῖαι : ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ
τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν οὐχ ὥς 'Ηρόδοτος
ἱστορεῖ τοῖς δούλοις ἀλλὰ τῶν περι-
οίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους
συνώκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας. But Hero-
dotus says nothing of any connubium.

5. Who were the inhabitants of
Tiryns at this time we cannot say,
and as the date of the capture is
quite uncertain, we do not know
whether it was the δοῦλοι, or the
original inhabitants, who sent a
contingent to Plataea in 479 B.C.

10. The final capture of Tiryns by

SPARTA. B.C. 488(?); Ol. 73. 1.

84

Spartan
account of
the mad-
ness of
Cleomenes.The
Scythians
at Sparta.

Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεά φασι μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆταί φασι ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθησι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι Δαρεῖον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν 5 χώραν, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονόεναι μιν τίσασθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὼν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν^a ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιή-
τας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμεομένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα 10 ἐς τὸν τὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται. ἐκ τε τόσου, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται 15

^a περᾶν Krüg. delete ἐσβάλλειν.

Argos seems to have taken place about the time when Argos destroyed Mycenae, which is put by Diodorus in 468 B.C. See *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 277. We learn from Herodotus that some of the Tirynthians retired to Halieis, vii. 137. 12.

84. 4. ἀκρητοπότην. The Greeks of course drank their wine diluted with water, unmixed wine being only used for libations. In Athenaeus, 36 B, we find some lines from a poet, ἐὰν δ' ἴσον ἴσῳ προσφέρῃ μανίαν ποιεῖ· ἐὰν δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων. Cf. Arist. *Prob.* 3. 5; Athen. 427 B, *infr.* l. 16.

5. τοὺς νομάδας. The whole nation is meant, as in iv. 11, not the particular section described in iv. 19; cf. *supr.* 40. 5.

6. μεμονόεναι, 'set their hearts on.' The present tenses in the next line indicate *proposals* on the part of the Scythians.

9. πειρᾶν. Elsewhere Herodotus uses the middle in this sense; hence Krüger would read περᾶν, omitting ἐσβάλλειν. But πειρᾶν with the infinitive is found elsewhere, see v. 85. 5; Soph. *O. T.* 399; *O. C.* 1276, quoted by K. The idea of the Scythians invading Media by way of the Phasis seems to refer to the possibility of passing along the eastern end of the Black Sea; cf. iv. 12. 9.

13. τοῦ ἰκνεομένου, 'than what was fitting'; cf. ἰκνευμένως, *supr.* 65. 13.

15. ζωρότερον, a Homeric word; *Il.* ix. 203 ζωρότερον δὲ κέραϊε, a passage which gave offence to critics,

SPARTA. B.C. 488(?); Ol. 73. 1.

πιεῖν, 'ἐπισκύθισον' λέγουσι. οὕτω δὲ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ
περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ
Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτίσαι.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, 85
ἐπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχί- The
δεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαι- Aeginetans
μόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἔγνωσαν περιυβρίσθαι at Sparta.
5 Αἰγινήτας ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω, καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἑκδοτον
ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἶγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀν-
δρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδα,
εἶπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος
ἀνὴρ, "τί βουλεύεσθε ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν βασι-
10 λέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἑκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-
τέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆ-
ται, ὅπως ἐξ ὑστέρης μή τι ὑμῖν, ἣν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώ-
λεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλωσι^a." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες
οἱ Αἰγινῆντι ἔσχοατο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο
15 τοιῇδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι
Αἰγινήτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης 86

^a ἐσβάλωσι P R (v); vid. Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* ad loc.: ἐσβαλεῦσι Krüg.

as we see from Arist. *Poetics*, 25. 9 = 1461a.15 οὐ τὸ ἄκρατον ὡς οἰνόφλυξιν, ἀλλὰ θᾶπτον.

16. ἐπισκύθισον, 'pour in Scythian style.' In a similar manner ἀποσκυθίζειν was used of shaving the head. See the story in Clearchus, *Frag.* 8 M. Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 637 D λέγω δὲ οὐκ οἴνου περὶ πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ μή, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς πέρι, πότερον, ὥσπερ Σκύθαι χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι, χρηστέον, καὶ ἔτι Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες καὶ Θρᾶκες, πολεμικὰ σύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, ἣ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ὑμεῖς μὲν

γάρ, ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε, Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θρᾶκες ἀκράτῳ παντάπασι χρώμενοι, γυναῖκές τε καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων καταχεόμενοι καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύειν νενομίκασι.

85. 4. δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες. Cf. *supr.* 72. 7.

12. ὅπως . . . μή . . . ἐμβάλωσι. This is the only instance in Herodotus of the independent use of ὅπως μή with the subjunctive to express a 'desire to avert something.' See Goodwin, *Syntax*, 278, 280; cf. v. 79. 12 and note.

ATHENS. B.C. 488(?); Ol. 73. 1.

Leotychi-
das accom-
panies
them to
Athens.

- (a) ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι· οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀπο- 5
(a) δώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξέ σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε. “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποίετε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποίετε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέ-
σθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν 5
ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάν-
των ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον. συνε- 10
νειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαί οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους, προῖσχύμενον τοιάδε. ‘εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἤκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαῦκε βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. ὥς

Story of
Glaucus
and the
Milesian.

86. 3. προφάσις εἶλκον. The phrase is found again, Aristoph. *Lysist.* 726. The meaning here is apparently ‘to linger out excuses,’ though Pape suggests ‘to drag in by the hair of the head,’ which suits Aristoph. Cf. ἔλκειν ἄνω κάτω τοὺς λόγους Plato, *Theaet.* 195 C; *Crat.* 386 E.

5. Cf. *supr.* 50. 9.

a. 7. τρίτην γενεήν, i. e. about 550 B.C., a time of great disquiet at Miletus owing to internal dissension, and the advance of the Persians; cf. v. 28, 29.

8. περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, ‘attain to the first rank.’ The construction may be the same in vii. 16 τὰ σὲ καὶ

ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλῖαι σφάλλουσι.

11. ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ, ‘at the proper time.’ See *supr.* 84. 13. With the story here related may be compared that given in Conon, *Narr.* 38, in which a man of Miletus, whose country is in danger, owing to Harpagus, the son of Cyrus (!), goes to Tauromenium to lodge his money with a banker there.

14. τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης. Cf. Thuc. iii. 57 προσκέψασθέ τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραγαθίας νομίζεσθε (of the Spartans). On the other hand, compare the contemptuous remark of Cyrus, i. 153. 5 οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας

ATHENS. B.C. 488(?); Ol. 73. 1.

15 γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ
 Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, ἐμεωυτῷ
 λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίῃ
 ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα
 οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστι ὁρᾶν ἔχοντας. ταῦτά τε ὦν
 20 ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης
 τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ^α, εὖ ἐξεπιστα-
 μένῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ
 τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς
 δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέῃ, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι.^β ὁ μὲν δὴ (β)
 ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέ-
 ξατο τὴν παρακαταθήκην^β ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου
 δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον ἐς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παρα-
 5 θεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ
 Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρή-
 ματα. ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. 'οὔτε
 μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὔτε με^γ περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι
 τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, βούλομαί τε^δ ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέειν

^α σέ R (sv), Stob. Flor. xxvii. 14 : σοι cett.
^γ οὐδέ με Bekk.

^β παραθήκην R et *infr.* δ. 7.
^δ δέ? Krüg.

τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
 πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμε-
 νοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι.
 It is not easy to see how the praise
 of the Milesian or the scorn of Cyrus
 would refer to men to whom all
 trade was forbidden.

21. ἐξαργυρώσαντα. The Attic
 form is ἐξαργυρίσαι; cf. Thuc. viii.
 81, with Arnold's note.

24. ἀποδοῦναι. Inf. for imperat.
 These infinitives are generally found
 (in Herodotus) before, or after, or in
 some connection with an imperative;
 cf. v. 23. 19; iii. 134. 23; 155.
 27.

β. 6. τὰ σύμβολα. 'The creden-
 tials,' 'proofs of the agreement.'
 Some visible test of the agreement is
 meant, such as would be afforded by
 two halves of a broken ring or coin.
 See Pape's Lex., who compares the
 use of the word in Plato's *Sympos.*
 191 D, for the two parts of the com-
 posite human creature.

8. περιφέρει. The only parallel
 to this use of the word seems to be
 Plato, *Lach.* 180 E περιφέρει δέ τίς με
 καὶ μνήμη ἄρτι τῶνδε λεγόντων. περι-
 φέρειν is active, 'brings me round';
 not *redit mihi in memoriam*, but
refert me in memoriam.

ATHENS. B.C. 488 (?); Ol. 73. 1.

πάν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ¹⁰
 εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι
 ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὧν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον
 (γ) μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησά-
 μενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων,
 Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστη-
 ρίῳ. ἐπειρωτέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρκῳ τὰ
 χρήματα λήισσηται^a, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι· ⁵
 Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδεΐδῃ, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
 ὄρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λήισσασθαι.
 ὄμνυ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὖορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
 ἀλλ' ὄρκου πάις ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες
 οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν ¹⁰
 συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴν καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
 ἀνδρὸς δ' εὖορκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο
 αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πει-

^a λήισσηται A B R : λήισεται cett.

11. νόμοισι, κ.τ.λ. The words do not contain a threat, but imply an intention to make a public and legal disavowal of the bargain; cf. *infra*. γ. 4. 'Laws of the Greeks' are laws observed in Ionia and Sparta equally.

12. κυρώσειν. Cf. v. 49. 49.

γ. 5. λήιζεσθαι, 'to appropriate.' So Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 322 ἀπὸ γλώσσης λήιζεσθαι, and Herod. iii. 47. 9, etc. μετέρχεται; cf. *infra*. 1. 10; *supr.* 69. 2.

9. ὄρκου πάις. 'The child of oath' is, of course, a personification of the punishment which awaits perjury; cf. ὕβρις μάτηρ κόρου Pind. *Ol.* 13. 10; τίκτει κόρος ὕβριν *Theog.* 153; Herod. viii. 77. 8. In Hesiod Ὀρκος

is the avenger of perjury; *Theog.* 231 Ὀρκον θ' ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους Πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἐκῶν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση. Even in Homer there are deities which punish perjury in the under world; *Il.* iii. 278 καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση. For perjury among the gods, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 783.

12. The line is taken from Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 285. In the original the comparative (ἀμείνων) is contrasted with ἀμαυροτέρῃ (of the issue of the perjured), but here it is out of place; cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 762 ἀνδρῶν δ' εὐθυδίκων καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.

14. It was a maxim of the Athe-

ATHENS. B.C. 487 (?); Ol. 73. 2.

ρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. Γλαῦκος (δ)
 μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀποδιδού
 σφι τὰ χρήματα· τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι
 ὥρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται. Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε
 5 τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμία νομιζομένη
 εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης.
 οὔτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο
 γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι."

Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὔτω 87
 ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται, War
 πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας, τῶν ἐς between
 Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν Athens
 5 τοιόνδε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες and
 ἀδικέεσθαι, ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρε- Aegina.
 σκευάζοντο. καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς^a
 ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες [ῶν]^b τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα
 ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας
 ἔδησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων 88
 οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ'

^a πεντετηρὶς B² R (sv), Schömann: πεντήρης cett.

^b ῶν secl. St.

nian law τὸν βουλεύσαντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν τῇ χειρὶ ἐργασά-
 μενον Andoc. *De Myst.* § 94.

δ. 4. ὥρμήθη λέγεσθαι. Cf. iv. 16.
 1 τῆς πέρι ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται λέγε-
 σθαι: v. 50. 10 τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον
 τὸν ὥρμητο λέγειν. ὀρμᾶσθαι is a
 favourite word with Herodotus to
 express an 'intention,' e. g. iv. 143. 6
 ὀρμημένου Δαρείου ῥοιὰς τρώγειν.

5. τι is not to be taken with ἀπό-
 γονον but with the negative which
 it intensifies, 'at all.' Cf. v. 92
 ε. 14.

8. ἀπαιτεόντων, sc. τῶν κυρίων,

'those to whom it belongs.'

87. 1. The dative is used with
 ἑσακούειν, as it would be with πεί-
 θεσθαι. So with ἐπακούειν in iv. 141. 5.

5. ἀξιοῦντες = νομίζοντες.

7. πεντετηρὶς, sc. ὀρτή.

8. τὴν θεωρίδα νέα is the ship
 which conveyed the θεωροί from
 Athens to Sunium.

88. 2. ἀνεβάλλοντο . . . μηχανή-
 σασθαι. Cf. *supr.* 2. 5; v. 49 *ult.*

τὸ πᾶν. Herodotus has both
 τὸ πᾶν and πᾶν μηχανᾶσθαι. In
 Attic the article is generally omitted
 in similar phrases.

ATHENS. B.C. 487(?); Cl. 73. 2.

Nicodromus leads a conspiracy of the people at Aegina.

Αἰγινήτησι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν 5 δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκείν 89 δεήσει βοηθέοντας. μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον εἶναι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινήτεων συμβαλεῖν· ἐν ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρήσαι σφίσιν^a νέας, 5 ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γάρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεὴν^b γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἐξ- ἦν δοῦναι. ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς 10 σφετέρας, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας,

^a σφίσι St.: σφι Libb.

^b δωτήνην R (sv), Krüg.

3. Κνοίθου καλεόμενος, 'known as the son of Cnoethus'; cf. vii. 143 παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο (of Themistocles); Thuc. viii. 6 Ἐνδιος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο.

4. ἀνὴρ δόκιμος. Probably he was an oligarch who had some quarrel with his order.

7. φράσας, κ.τ.λ., i.e. φράσας τὴν τε ἡμέρην ἐν τῇ, καὶ (τὴν ἡμέρην) ἐς τήν. He fixed the day on which he would himself rise, and also that by which the Athenians must appear.

89. 2. τὴν παλαιήν, κ.τ.λ. Some part of the city of Aegina may be meant, or some other town, such as Oea, for which see v. 83. 10. Nicodro-

mus may well have arranged to seize some point in the interior at the same time that the Athenians attacked the Aeginetans by sea.

4. οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thuc. i. 41 νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε.

9. ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, 'by their law'; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 62 Ὑλλίδος στάθμας ἐν νόμοις.

11. The history of the Athenian fleet down to this period is unknown. We are told in the handbooks that each of the forty-eight naucrariae furnished a ship, but this appears to

ATHENS. B.C. 487(?) ; Ol. 73. 2.

ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρη μὴ τῆς
 συγκειμένης. Νικόδρομος δέ, ὥς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν 90
 καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ^a
 τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων.
 εἶποντο, τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι^b ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν
 5 δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμεόμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
 Αἰγινήτας. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγένετο. Αἰγινητέων 91
 δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ
 ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτά σφεας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπο-
 λέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσα-
 5 σθαι οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν

Sacrilege
 of the
 Aegine-
 tans.

^a ἐκ om. P R (sv).

^b οἰκίσαι A B C : ἐνοικῆσαι Nab., Cob.

rest on the evidence of grammarians only, and may be due to a false etymology (*ναῦς ναυκραρία*). Cf. Herm. *Staatsalt.* § 98. 3. In Arist. *Athen. Pol.* c. 8 there is nothing to connect the naucraries with the ships. The statement that Cleisthenes raised the number of naucraries to fifty comes from Clidemus, the contemporary of Aristotle (Herm. *l.c.* 111. 9), but here also there is no mention of ships. The idea that after Cleisthenes the Athenian navy nominally consisted of fifty ships seems to rest on the correspondence of the fifty ships mentioned here with the fifty naucraries ascribed to Cleisthenes. *Infr.* c. 132. 3 seventy ships are mentioned, and apparently these are not the *whole* Athenian fleet (490 B.C.).

91. 1. ὕστερον, after 490 B.C.

2. οἱ παχέες. See the note on v. 30. 3.

4. ἐκθύσασθαι, κ.τ.λ., 'expiate.' Cf. Eurip. *Frag.* 155 τίνα δεῖ μακάρων ἐκθυσαμένους εὐρεῖν μόχθων

ἀναπαύλαν; This sense appears to be confined to the middle voice, the active ἐκθύειν being merely 'to sacrifice completely'; see Jebb on Soph. *El.* 572, and L. S. sub v. Cf. Thuc. ii. 27 ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ (431 B.C.) ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, on the ground that they had been the cause of the war. Herodotus explains the matter in a manner more consonant to his own modes of thought, cf. *infr.* 135. 12, of Miltiades. Even Aristotle seems to look on the destruction of Sybaris by Croton as the expiation of an act of impiety. Herodotus can hardly have known of the extirpation of the Aeginetans by the Athenians in 424 B.C. or he would have mentioned it. [Lysias, vi. 1, has a story of a man who died of hunger in the midst of plenty in consequence of an act of impiety towards Demeter.]

ATHENS. B.C. 487 (?); Ol. 73. 2.

ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἴλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἰς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος δεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε 10 μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἶοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι 92 ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστροισι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργείους. καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθεύουσιν, 5 μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι· συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνιέων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ· καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημὴ χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια 10 ἐκατέρους. Σικυῶνιοι μὲν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι ὡμολόγησαν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἀζήμιοι εἶναι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὲ ὧν σφι^a ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς 15

Argos and Aegina.

^a ὧν σφι om. P R (sv), vid. *supr.* 63. 2.

92. 4. τοὺς καὶ πρότερον, see v. 86. 19. For the chronological difficulties involved in this account, see v. App. 3 'On the chronology of the reign of Cleomenes' (p. 135).

10. By what right did Argos inflict this fine? Did she still claim to be head of the 'lot of Temenus'? See *Hist. of Greece*, i. 226. Later in the fifth century she claimed the right of fining the Epidaurians,

but did so as custodian of the temple of Apollo. For Sicyon and Argos, see v. 67 f.; the city must have greatly changed since the days of Cleisthenes, before she consented to follow the lead of Dorians and pay a fine to Argos.

13. αὐθαδέστεροι, 'inclined to be impudent.' Cf. *supr.* 75. 5 for the comparative; and v. 81. 12 for the Aeginetan character.

ASIA. B.C. 490; Ol. 22. 3.

στρατηγὸς [ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα]^a Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον^b
ἐπασκήσας. τούτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω,
ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ
στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μονομαχίην ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν
20 ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου
Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐοῦσι 93
ἀτάκτοις τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνί-
κησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινῆ- 94
τας· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἐώντοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνή-
σκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ
5 διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος
ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς
Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον
μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς
στρατηγείας, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε
10 ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δᾶτίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον

Mardonius
deposed :
arrange-
ments for
a fresh
invasion of
Greece.

^a ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα om. P R (sv).

^b ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον St.; πεντάεθλον Libb.

16. πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας, cf. ix.
105. 3 παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. 'Hav-
ing practised the pentathlon,' is =
'having conquered in the pentath-
lon.' In ix. 75. 4 Eurybates is
called πεντάεθλος ἀνὴρ. Just below
μονομαχίην ἐπασκέων is 'practising
single combat,' i.e. engaging his
enemy in it; cp. σοφίαν, ἀρετήν
ἐπασκεῖν.

21. For Sophanes, see ix. 74, 75.

93. 3. νέας τέσσερας, κ.τ.λ. Here
the account of the war ends, but
from vii. 145. 8 we know that hosti-
lities went on till 481 B.C.

94. 2. τὸ ἐώντοῦ ἐποίηε, 'went

on with his work.' ὥστε = ἄτε.

ἀναμιμνήσκοντος . . . μεμνήσθαι
μιν, 'reminding him to bear in
mind.' Cf. v. 105.

4. See v. 96; vii. 6.

5. βουλόμενος. The grammar re-
turns to the nominative, because ὁ
Πέρσης and ὁ Δαρεῖος are the same
person.

7. τοὺς μὴ δόντας. Cf. *supr.* 48 f.
As the words refer to a past act, they
cannot denote an indefinite class,
and therefore οὐ would be more cor-
rect than μή. See *supr.* 66. 10.

10. Μῆδον. Other instances of
Medes in the service of the Persians

ASIA. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

γένος καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον^a
 ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἑξάνδρα ποδίσαντας
 Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἑρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ
 95 ἀνδράποδα. ὥς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες
 πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς
 τὸ Ἀλήιον πεδίου, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν
 τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευομένοισι
 ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς⁵
 ἐκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἵππαγωγοὶ νέες,
 τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ προεῖπε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόροις
 Δαρεῖος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς
 ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς
 νέας, ἔπλεον ἑξακοσίησι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν¹⁰
 δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε
 Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι
 παρά τε Ἰκάριον^b καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο,
 ὥς μὲν ἑμοὶ δοκέειν, δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον
 τοῦ Ἀθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ^c ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν¹⁵

Datis and
 Artaphernes at
 Naxos,

^a ἀδελφιδέον δέ? St.^b τό vel τε τό St.: Ἰκαρον vel Ἰκαρίην Gebhardt.^c τῷ τρίτῳ πρότερον Dobree.

are Harpagus and Tabalus who were employed by Cyrus against the Greeks and Lydians.

95. 2. See *supr.* 43. 7. The army did not of course march by the great road described in v. 52, but by one which led from the Euphrates, through the 'Cilician Gates' to Tarsus. It was by this route that the younger Cyrus marched into Mesopotamia.

5. ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς, *supr.* 48.

7. τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ, i.e. in 491 B.C.

11. εἶχον, 'directed'; Homeric.

13. παρά τε Ἰκάριον, which is

found in the MSS., can only mean 'past the Icarian Sea,' which is not what the context requires (96. 2), and the omission of the article is remarkable. Hence Ἰκαρον is perhaps right.

15. τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ can hardly be right, though Clinton ingeniously defends the text, by supposing that Herodotus is speaking of Attic years. If Mardonius was wrecked off Athos in the autumn of 492, an expedition leaving Asia before July 490 would be in the year after his disaster, if we reckon the years from July to

DELOS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος
σφέας ἠνάγκαζε πρότερον οὐκ ἀλούσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ 96
Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιξαν τῇ Νάξῳ,
ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπείχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ
Πέρσαι, μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον^a . . . οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ
5 ὄρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι
ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ
τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς
ἄλλας νήσους ἀνήγοντο.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ Δήλιοι ἐκλιπόντες 97
καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον. τῆς and at
δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεύσης ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα Delos.
τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον^b προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην
5 ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ᾗσαν οἱ Δήλιοι,
πέμπων κήρυκα ἠγόρευέ σφι τάδε. “ἄνδρες ἱροί, τί
φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγνόντες κατ’ ἐμεῦ;
ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω καί μοι ἐκ

^a lacunam indicavit St.: προτέρων R (sv).^b δῆλον B² P R (s): νῆσον cett.

June. But there is nothing to show that Herodotus is speaking of Attic years; his years as a rule seem to run from spring to spring, *supr.* 31. 2.

96. 3. ἐπείχον, ‘intended.’

4. τῶν πρότερον, i.e. the successful resistance to the Persian fleet under Aristagoras, v. 34. Plut. *De malig. Her.* 36, informs us that Darius was repulsed from the island, after he had laid waste some part of it, but Naxos was certainly subject to Persia from the time of the battle of Marathon.

97. 5. Rhenea is an island about half a mile distant from Delos. It is much larger than Delos, to which however Polycrates made it an

appendage. The sacred associations of Delos did not extend to it (Thuc. iii. 104).

7. οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα . . . ἐμεῦ, ‘forming an unjust,’ lit. unsuitable, ‘opinion against me.’ The repetition of κατὰ is remarkable, for elsewhere we find the genitive only; see Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 21, where the whole subject of prepositions in composition is treated. Cf. ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου *supr.* 12. 12, and note; ἀπωστός 5. 9, and v. l.

8. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω, lit. ‘my own understanding extends so far’; ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο is common with λέγω iv. 199. 12; and in v. 50. 2 we have ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν.

DELOS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν¹⁰ μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε.” ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίησε.

98 Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὥς ἔλεγον Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι⁵ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφαινε ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν¹⁰

Earth-
quake at
Delos.

9. οἱ δύο θεοί, Apollo and Artemis.

11. ἄπιτε, ‘go back’; cf. *supr.* 5: 2.

14. ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. The altar of Apollo in Delos.

98. 2. καὶ Ἰωνας, κ.τ.λ. The same remark is made ii. 1. 5; iii. 1. 3. It may be added here to mark the fact that the Greeks of Asia and the islands were now compelled to fight against their kinsmen in the peninsula.

4. καὶ πρῶτα, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix I. Thuc. ii. 8, speaking of the year 431 B.C., remarks: ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ’ οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται. Each author would seem to be denying the occurrence of the earthquake mentioned by the other. We cannot explain the con-

tradition, but we may conjecture that the Asiatic and European Greeks had different traditions, each supported by some supposed evidence from Delos.

5. τέρας, κ.τ.λ. *Supr.* 27. 1, and note.

7. Darius reigned from 521 to 485 B.C.; Xerxes was slain in 465; Artaxerxes died in 424. Here, as *supr.* 91. 6, Herodotus seems ignorant of events subsequent to 426 B.C.

9. ἐπὶ εἴκοσι, κ.τ.λ. Twenty generations=667 years. This would cover the interval between the accession of Darius and the Trojan war, or at any rate the Dorian migration; for Herodotus seems to place the Trojan war about 1260 B.C., and the migration took place eighty years later.

CARYSTUS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμέοντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς
κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον. [καὶ ἐν
χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ᾧδε.

15 κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν.]^a

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα,
Δαρεῖος ἐρξείης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἀρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος.
τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ᾧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ
γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἕλληνες καλέοιεν.^b

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπήειραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου^c, προσ- 99
ἰσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ στρατιήν τε παρε-
λάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον.
ὥς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς
5 Κάρυστον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους
ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρα-

The Per-
sians at
Carystus,

^a καὶ ἐν . . . ἐοῦσαν om. A B C, I. Gronovius.

^b δύναται . . . καλέοιεν del. Wess.

^c δήλου P R (sv) : νήσου cett.

12. ἀεικὲς, 'strange,' 'extraordi-
nary,' = οὐκ εἰκός.

13. καὶ ἐν . . . ἐοῦσαν. These lines
are found in one class of MSS. only,
and the expression ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν
γεγραμμένον is not Herodotean; we
should expect καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐχρή-
σθη χρηστήριον, λέγον ᾧδε, or ἦν δὲ
λόγιόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς, λέγον ᾧδε. Delos
was at one time a wandering island,
till Leto visited it; see Pindar, *Frag.*
65.

16. δύναται . . . καλέοιεν. These
words are but slightly connected
with the context, and look more like
a note, whether added by Herodotus
or another, than a part of the text;
see on v. 27. 2. Δαρεῖος is the Greek
form of *Dārayavush* from *dar* 'to
hold,' 'possess,' to which ἐρξείης or

ἐρξείης, from ἔργειν, corresponds very
imperfectly. Ξέρξης is probably =
Kshayārsā, 'mighty man;' Ἀρτο-
ξέρξης is *Artakshatrā* ('exalted
king'), so that ἀρήιος and μέγας
ἀρήιος (? μέγα ἀρήιος, as Bekker sug-
gested) correspond fairly to the last
two names; see *infr.* p. 330.

99. 2. τὰς νήσους, i. e. the Cyclades, etc., and Euboea, in which lay
Carystus. The Carystians were Dry-
opians, and were known for their
spirit and bravery. Yet they learned
a lesson now which they remembered
in 480 B. C., when they joined the
invaders. See *Hist. of Greece*, ii. pp.
81, 202.

6. οὔτε ἔφασαν . . . στρατεύεσθαι.
Dobree preferred στρατεύσεσθαι, but
the change is not necessary, for οὐκ

ERETRIA. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

and at
Eretria,

100

τεύεσθαι^a, λέγοντες Ἐρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα
τούτους ἐπολιόρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφεων ἔκειρον, ἐς
ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν
γνώμην. Ἐρετριάες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν
Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεήθησαν
σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο
τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς^b κλη-
ρουχέοντας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τού-
τους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἐρετριάων ἦν ἄρα
οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα, οἷ μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους,
ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ιδέας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβου-
λεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι
δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω¹⁰
οἷσεσθαι προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τούτων
ἐκάτερα ὡς εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρε-
τριάων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖσι ἤκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα
τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσε-

^a στρατεύσεσθαι Dobree.^b τοὺς add. Krüg.

ἔφασαν is 'refused'; cf. v. 79. 4;
80 *ult.*; and also *infr.* 132. 5.

8. ἐς ὃ . . . γνώμην. Cf. *infr.* 140.
10 ἐς ὃ καὶ οὗτοι παρέστησαν, and
often.

100. 4. τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. Cf.
v. 77. 11.

6. ἦν ἄρα = 'was, as the event
proved'; the idiomatic sense of ἄρα
with the imperfect. Cf. Soph. *Trach.*
1169 f.

ἦ μοι

ἔφασκε μόχθων τῶν ἐφειστώτων ἐμοὶ
λύσιν τελείσθαι, καδόκουν πράξειν
καλῶς.

τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν
ἐμέ.

7. ὑγιὲς, 'sound,' 'honest,' *sanum*.

8. ἐφρόνεον . . . ιδέας. 'They
were divided in their intentions.'

ιδέα is 'form' or 'kind,' lit.
'shape.' 'Their thoughts took two
shapes.' Cf. *infr.* 119. 11 φρέαρ τὸ
παρέχεται τριφασίας ιδέας.

9. ἐκλιπεῖν . . . ἐς, 'to leave their
city for,' 'to retire to.' The 'whole of
the southern end of Euboea is filled
by a mass of mountains,' the highest
point being Mount Ocha (4748
feet) on the summit of which are the
ruins of an ancient temple; see Smith,
Dict. Geog. Euboea.

13. τὰ πρῶτα, cf. ix. 78. 2 Λάμπων
ὁ Πυθίω Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα,
and Lucretius, i. 86 ductores
Danaum delecti, prima virorum.

ERETRIA. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

15 σθαί σφεας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἵνα μὴ προσαπόλωνται.
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλεύσαντι πείθονται.
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας 101
αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλείοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς
Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια,
κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξ-
5 ἐβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι
ἐχθροῖσι, οἱ δὲ Ἐρετρίεες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσα-
σθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν which is
τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι περί ἔμελε, ἐπεῖτε ἐνίκα μὴ betrayed
ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς
10 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιπτον ἐπὶ ἐξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν
ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ Εὐφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου
καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι
προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν
τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύμενοι

15. ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. It is not quite clear from the narrative, whether the Athenians were residing on the Chalcidian territory, but as nothing is said of sending them out to Eretria, we may assume that this was the case.

101. 2. κατέσχον, 'put in at,' but *infr.* 4 κατασχόντες is 'having got possession of.'

3. κατὰ Τέμενος, κ.τ.λ. These were, no doubt, places in the Eretrian territory, but nothing more is known of them. For Τέμενος Wesseling proposed Ταμύνας, which Strabo mentions as a city in the Eretrian country (p. 448). See also Harpocration, sub voce; Aesch. 2. 169, 3. 86; Demosth. 21. 162, 39. 16. But Herodotus elsewhere mentions places which are not otherwise known, e. g.

Ceos and Cynosura in connection with Salamis.

4. αὐτίκα ἵππους, κ.τ.λ. See *infr.* 102. 5.

7. οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν = οὐκ ἐβουλεύοντο. ποιεῖσθαι can be used with almost any abstract noun as a periphrasis for a verb, e. g. λύπην ποιεῖσθαι = λυπεῖσθαι, στρατιὴν ποιεῖσθαι = στρατεύεσθαι, etc.

8. ἐνίκα. The imperfect is remarkable, but cf. viii. 9. 2 ἐνίκα πορεύεσθαι.

14. ἀποτινύμενοι, cf. *supr.* 96. 2, and especially vii. 8 β. 11, viii. 143. 11. The view that the Persian war was a religious war is discussed at length by Wecklein, *Die Tradition der Perserkrieger*, 1876, p. 263 ff. In the present passage the historian seems to draw a distinction between the com-

ATHENS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώ- 15
πους ἡνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102 Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλί-
γας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές^a τε
πολλὸν καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσκειν
τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριάας ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαρα-
θῶν ἐπιτηδεότατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ 5
ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης

103 ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα,
ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφεας
στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν
πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ

ATHENS.
Miltiades
is chosen
one of the
generals.

^a κατεργάζοντες B² R (sv) : κατοργέοντες Dietsch : κατεπείγοντές τε
τὸν πλόον? St. : κατηλογέοντες Van H.

mands of Darius and the unauthorized
act of the invaders; cf. *supr.* 94. 12.

102. 2. κατέργοντές τε πολλόν.
See critical note. If the text is kept,
we must translate 'in great haste,'
taking the word intransitively, for it
is impossible to follow Schweigh. in
supplying τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, and render-
ing 'in angustias cogentes.' The
word κατέργειν occurs v. 63. 23,
where also it gives rise to difficulties.

4. Μαραθῶν. The word is here
used for the district, not merely the
hamlet or deme of Marathon. Attica
as a whole was dangerous ground for
horses. Cf. ix. 13. 12 οὐκ ἵππασίμη ἦν
ἡ χώρα ἡ Ἀττικὴ, and v. 63, where the
land round Phalerum is prepared for
the Thessalian horse. Nearly fifty
years before the present expedition,
Hippias had accompanied his father
Peisistratus on a similar voyage from
Eretria, and on that occasion the land-
ing had been in every way successful;

see *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 83.

5. ἐνιππεῦσαι. As we have seen,
the Persian horse were landed in
Euboea, and we must presume that
they were landed in Attica; yet we
never hear of them in the battle;
see Appendix 3.

103. 3. στρατηγοὶ δέκα. Arist.
Athen. Pol. c. 4, speaks of στρατηγοὶ
under the constitution of Draco, but
he does not fix the number. In c. 22
he tells us that in the twelfth year
before the battle of Marathon = 501
B. C. τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡρῶντο κατὰ
φυλάς, ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα, τῆς δὲ
ἀπάσης, στρατιᾶς ἡγεμῶν ἦν ὁ πολέ-
μαρχος. ὁ δέκατος, i. e. tenth in the
order of the tribes. In this year,
therefore, the Oeneid tribe, to which
Miltiades belonged, was tenth; cf.
infr. 111. 6.

4. κατέλαβε, impersonal, as *infr.*
1. 12.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

5 Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος. καὶ αὐτῷ
 φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίππῳ συνέβη, καὶ
 ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν^a μιν τῶντὸ ἐξενείκα-
 σθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ. μετὰ δὲ τῇ
 ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδού-
 10 Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρὲς τού-
 τῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐώντοῦ ὑπόσπονδος. καὶ μιν ἀνε-
 λόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέ-
 λαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι
 15 κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαιπται
 δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης
 καλεομένης ὁδοῦ· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφεται
 αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἥδη τῶντὸ τοῦτο Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος,
 20 πλέω δὲ τουτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος

(Story of
Cimon.)

^a ἀνελόμενον P (sv): ἀνελόμενος R: ἀνελομένῳ A B C.

6. Ὀλυμπιάδα, for Ὀλύμπια (36. 2); νίκην can be supplied; cf. *supr.* 70. 15, *infr.* 125 *ult.*

7. τῶντὸ ἐξενείκασθαι, 'to win the same honours with.' Each of the half-brothers was τεθριπποτρόφος, cf. *supr.* 36.

10. ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, 'to be proclaimed as victor'; *supr.* 70. 16.

11. ὑπόσπονδος. Though allowed to return, he was regarded as an enemy; cf. Thuc. vi. 59 ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἐς Σίγειον (of Hippias). The past was not forgotten.

13. οὐκέτι περιέοντος, κ.τ.λ., i. e. after 527 B. C.

15. κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte Ath.* p. 244, considers that the prytaneum was in the south of the city at this time; the new

prytaneum, which lay on the north of the acropolis, not being built till Macedonian times. ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας, i. e. 'by hired assassins.' Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 387 ὑφεῖς μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον, Herod. v. 92 η. 21 ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους.

16. πρὸ, 'just outside'; cf. ix. 52. 9; viii. 37. 4. 'The Hollow' was probably the depression between the Nymph's Hill and the hill of the Pnyx. On the one side of the road was the grave of Cimon, on the other side the horses were buried. The tombs were close to the Melitian gate of the city. Marcellinus, *vitt. Thuc.* 17 πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα.

ATHENS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ
 τῷ πατρί Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ,
 ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνησι, οὖνομα
 ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω
 104 Μιλτιάδης. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ
 τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον ἐστρα-
 τήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ
 ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο
 λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα. ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα 5
 τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δοκέοντά τε
 εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπο-
 δεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἐδίωξαν
 τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ
 τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς 10
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

105 Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἱ στρατη-
 γοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην^a Ἀθη-

^a φιλιππίδην R (sv), veterum testimonia, Wess.

21. τῷ Κίμωνι. The dative is possessive, a use which is generally confined to the pronouns; cf. *supr.* 41. 7 τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατέειλον.

25. Μιλτιάδης. For the nom. see Γύνδης v. 52. 29.

104. 2. Cf. *supr.* c. 41.

7. ὑποδεξάμενοι, 'taking him up,' = παραδεξάμενοι, but with the additional idea of secrecy.

8. ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος. The rule of Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, had been founded with the consent of Peisistratus, and Miltiades, the son of Cimon, had acted in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner on succeeding

his brother Stesagoras in the Chersonese. He was also sent out by the Peisistratidae. Hence the enemies of the tyrants at Athens might hope to excite the people against Miltiades, notwithstanding the fact that his family had left Athens owing to their hatred of Peisistratus, and that his father had been put to death by the Peisistratidae. Cf. App. 7. 2.

105. 2. Φειδιππίδην. This is the form of the name in the best MSS., but elsewhere we find Φιλιππίδην, a form which in this passage is supported by the second class of the MSS. of Herodotus; see critical note. With his performance we may compare

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

Pheidippi-
des sent to
Sparta.

ναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο
μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ
5 Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ
ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὃ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὔνομα
τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγ-
γεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἐωντοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦνται ἐόν-
τος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου σφι ἤδη^a
10 χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι^b εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων,
πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι
Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι
ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται. τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς 106
ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ
ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθη-
ναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
5 ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέον-
ται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην
ἐν τοῖσι” Ἑλλῃσι δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν

^a σφι ἤδη St.: σφίσι ἤδη A B C: ἤδη σφίσι P R (sv).^b σφι St.: σφίσι Libb.

that recorded of Eueidas, in Plut. *Aristid.* 20, who ran from Plataea to Delphi and back in a day.

5. περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος. There was a temple of Pan on the mountain (Paus. viii. 54. 6).

7. ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι, 'carry home the question, why.' Paus. i. 28. 4 φάναι τε ὡς εὐνοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι εἶη καὶ ὅτι ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἤξει συμμαχήσων.

12. ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι. For a view of the grotto of Pan see Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, Bl. ix. 2. It lies on the north-west side of the Acropolis.

14. λαμπάδι, 'torch-race.'

106. 3. δευτεραῖος. The distance is given by Isocrates, *Panathen.* 24, at 1200 stades=150 miles; this is perhaps a little longer than the route taken by Pheidippides, which, however, can hardly have been less than 120-130 miles.

4. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, i.e. the ephors; cf. ix. 7. 8 ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

6. ἀρχαιοτάτην. Cf. vii. 161. 19 ἀρχαιοτάτον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων.

7. δουλοσύνην περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς,

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτρια τε ἡνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλι λογίμῳ ἢ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε, τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν ¹⁰ βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δέ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

107

The
Persians
land at
Marathon.
(Story of
Hippias.)

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖσι δὲ βαρ-
βάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μα-
ραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ
ὑπνῷ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ
συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ⁵
ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτή-
σειν ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συν-
εβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀν-
δράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν
Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγλείην, τοῦτο δὲ καταγο- ¹⁰

‘brought into slavery by.’ This is the passive of περιβάλλειν with the dative, as in the common phrase περιβάλλειν συμφοραῖς.

13. ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, κ.τ.λ., ‘the ninth day in the rise of the month,’ the month being divided into three parts, the rise, the full (μεσοῦντος), the fall (φθίνοντος). Herodotus can hardly mean that the Spartans expected the full moon to fall on the ninth of the month, for that would imply a calendar in great disorder; his meaning apparently is that the Spartans could not go out on the ninth or on any day between the ninth and the full moon. It is commonly supposed that the month Carneius is meant, of which nine days (7-15) were occupied by

the Carneia, during which no Dorian could go out on a military expedition; but this is not stated by Herodotus, nor did Plutarch so understand his words. Cf. Plut. *De malig. Her.* 26 οὐ γὰρ μόνου ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους καὶ μάχας πεποίηνται μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μὴ περιμείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἕκτῃ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου γενομένης ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν. Whether Plutarch is right in contradicting Herodotus about the date of the battle is doubtful; see Appendix 3 B.

14. μὴ οὐ. See *supr.* c. 9.

107. 3. τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτός, i. e. in the night before landing at Marathon.

10. Styra lay on the S.W. of

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

μένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὀρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάν-
 τας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα
 διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὥς ἐώ-
 θεε. οἷα δέ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦ-
 15 νες ἐσείοντο. τούτων ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει
 ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ
 ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό
 οἱ ὁ ὀδών, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας
 “ ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστί, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα
 20 ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δέ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν,
 ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει.”

Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυ- 108
 θέναι. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος
 ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ
 ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλα-
 5 ταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς

Plataea
and Athens.

Euboea, and, like Carystus, it was a Dryopian town.

11. οὗτος. Cf. v. 3. 7.

16. ὑπὸ βίης, with ἐκβάλλει.

108. 2. ἐν τεμένει, κ.τ.λ., i. e. at Marathon, but the precise position of the precincts seems to be unknown. It is, however, pretty certain that Marathon was the modern Vrana. The Greeks may have been encamped in Avlona (see map), or in the valley of Vrana, or in both. The last is more probable, for they would wish to command the chief road to Athens, and yet they must protect themselves from attack through Avlona.

3. πανδημεῖ. They were 1000 strong according to Ephorus.

4. ἐδεδώκεσαν. According to Thuc. iii. 68, this took place ninety-

two years before the destruction of the city in 427 B.C., which brings us to 519 B.C. Grote doubted this date because no reason is known why the Spartan army should be in Boeotia in 519 B.C., whereas we know that it was in Attica under the command of Cleomenes in 508 B.C., and moreover the incident in this text agrees better with the state of affairs after the expulsion of Hippias than during his reign. In this he has been generally followed, and the date brought down by ten years; yet it is dangerous to alter a distinct statement of such an author as Thucydides without better knowledge of the circumstances.

5. πόνους . . . συχνοὺς, κ.τ.λ. Of these nothing is known.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο^a. ἔδοσαν δὲ ᾧδε. πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θη-
 βαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεο-
 μένῃ τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας
 αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε. “ ἡμεῖς μὲν
 ἑκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέομεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ’ ἂν¹⁰
 ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρῇ· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραπο-
 δισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλεύομεν δὲ
 ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισι
 τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι.” ταῦτα
 συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην¹⁵
 οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 ἔχειν πόνους συνεστέωτας Βοιωτοῖσι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ οὐκ
 ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ’ Ἀθηναίων ἱρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα
 θεοῖσι ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας²⁰
 αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο^b
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφι ἐβοήθεον. μελ-
 λόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιείδον,
 παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφο-
 τέρων οὔρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε, ἑᾶν Θηβαίους²⁵

^a ἀναραιρέατο Bekk.: ἀναιρέατο R (sv): ἀναιρέοντο cett.^b ἐστράτευον P R (sv).

9. ἡμεῖς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Thuc. iii. 55, who confirms the statement in the text.

11. φθαίητε . . . ἢ τινα. Elsewhere Herodotus uses πρότερον ἢ or πρὶν ἢ.

17. συνεστέωτας, ‘in conflict with.’ Cf. *supr.* 29. 3.

19. ἠπίστησαν = ἠπείθησαν.

20. βωμόν. Cf. Thuc. vi. 54, who informs us that this altar of the twelve gods was dedicated in the market-place of Athens by Peisistratus, the son of Hippias,

when archon. After the expulsion of the tyrants it was enlarged in such a manner that the inscription placed upon it by the dedicator was hidden. It formed in a sense the centre of the city, for, on the one hand, the distances between Athens and important places were marked upon it (Herod. ii. 7. 5 and *C. I. A.* ii. 1078), and, on the other, all processions passed round it (Pindar, *Frag.* 45, Xen. *Hipparch.* iii. 2).

25. ἑᾶν, ‘to let alone.’

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. Κο-
ρίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθηναίοισι
δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθη-
σαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κο-
30 ρίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερ-
βάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο οὔρον Θηβαίοισι
πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιάς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ
Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημέ-
νῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ 109
γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβαλεῖν (ὀλίγους γὰρ
εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων [συμβάλλειν])^a, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλ-
τιάδεω κελευόντων. ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα
5 ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος
ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρ-
χέειν (τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέ-
μαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), ἦν δὲ τότε πολέ-
μαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν
10 Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. “ἐν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ἡ
καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημό-

MARA-
THON.
The Athe-
nians
divided in
opinion.

Miltiades
and Calli-
machus.

^a συμβάλλειν secl. St.

32. Ὑσιάς. See v. 74. 10 note.
From this passage we gather that
the territory of Hysiae was now
extended to the Asopus; cf. also
ix. 15, 25.

109. 6. ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν, κ.τ.λ.
In the *Athen. Pol.* we are told (c. 22. 5)
εὐθὺς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Τελεσίνου
ἄρχοντος (487 B.C.) ἐκνήμευσαν τοὺς
ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν
προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντα-
κοσίων τότε μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα
πρῶτον· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν
αἵρετοί. The passage presents some

difficulty, on which see Kenyon's
note, but it states clearly that the
archons were elected (αἵρετοί) at the
time of the battle of Marathon.
Aristotle then and Herodotus are at
variance. [In the time of Solon the
archons were κληρωτοὶ ἐκ προκρίτων,
but the practice seems to have been
changed in the time of the tyranny.]

7. τὸ παλαιόν. Afterwards of
course the Polemarch had nothing
to do with the management of the
army.

MARATHON. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

συνα^a λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα^b οὐδὲ
 Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων [λείπουσι]^c. νῦν γὰρ δὴ
 ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον,
 καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ¹⁵
 πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίῃ, ἣν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη
 ἡ πόλις, οἷη τε ἐστὶ πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων
 γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ
 κῶς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ
 κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν²⁰
 ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευ-
 όντων τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβάλλειν. ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμ-
 βάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην διασείσειν ἐμπε-
 σοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ
 συμβάλωμεν πρίν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέ-²⁵
 ροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων οἰοί τε εἰμὲν
 περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν
 τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἥρτηται. ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ
 προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τῶν^d ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμ-³⁰
 βολὴν ἔλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ
 110 ἐναντία.” ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν
 Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς

^a μνημόσυνον P R (sv).^b οἷα H. Stephanus; οἷον Libb.^c λείπουσι secl. St.^d τὴν τῶν Reiske: τῶν Libb.: τὴν δὲ τῶν, et infr. ἦν ἔλῃ Valck.

12. ἐς τὸν . . . βίον, i. e. ‘so long
 as mankind exists.’ Cf. v. 9. 15,
 Soph. *Phil.* 306 ἐν τῷ μακρῷ . . .
 ἀνθρώπων χρόνῳ.

13. Like Callimachus, Harmo-
 dius and Aristogeiton were members
 of the deme of Aphidna, which lay
 in the neighbourhood of Declea.

23. διασείσειν, ‘will shatter,’

‘break into two parties.’

26. ἐγγενέσθαι, ‘arise,’ ‘get on
 foot among’; cf. v. 3. 5.

29. προσθῇ. Cf. Soph. *O. C.*
 1332 οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῇ, τοῖσδ’ ἔφασκ’
 εἶναι κράτος.

31. ἔλῃ, sc. τὴν γνώμην, but see
 critical note.

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γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ Miltiades
delays the
attack.
τῶν ἢ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὥς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν
5 ἐγίνετο πρυτανηίῃ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν.
ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ
αὐτοῦ πρυτανηίῃ ἐγένετο. ὥς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, 111
ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς συμβαλέον-
τες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλί-
μαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν
5 πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου
ἐξεδέκοντο ὥς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων,
τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας
Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης [γάρ]^a σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων
θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεν-

^a γάρ secl. St.

110. 3. ἐκεκύρωτο. The pluperfect means 'it was finally determined.' Cf. *infr.* 130 *ult.*; so ἐδέδοκτο v. 96. 12, περιεβεβλέατο *supr.* 24 *ult.*

5. It is not clear what was done by the generals who voted against the attack. From the context we should gather that they, as well as the others, gave up their turn of command to Miltiades. As Miltiades is called the tenth general (*supr.* 103. 3) he apparently waited till the tenth day to attack, and as the discussion began after the generals reached Marathon, the Greek army was apparently idle there for ten days at least (App. 3. 11 a).

111. 5. πολέμαρχον. Cf. *Athen. Pol.* 3. 2 δευτέρα δ' ἐπικατέστη [πολε-]μαρχία διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς τῶν βασιλέων τὰ πολέμια μαλακοῦς, [πρώτον] δὲ τὸν Ἴωνα μετεπέμψαντο

χρείας καταλαβούσης. In ancient times the king commanded the right wing.

6. ὥς ἀριθμέοντο. There were two arrangements of the tribes at Athens; (1) the fixed arrangement, in which they stood in the following order: Erechtheid, Aegeid, Pandionid, Leontid, Acamantid, Oeneid, Cecropid, Hippothontid, Aeantid, Antiochid; (2) the order in which they were allotted for the year. As we are told (Plut. *Quaest. Con.* i. 10. 3, *Aristid.* 5) that the Aeantid occupied the right, while the Leontid and Antiochid stood together in the centre; and as the tribe of Miltiades, which was the Oeneid, was the tenth in order, the first arrangement cannot be meant here (see *infr.* p. 313).

9. The Great Panathenaea are probably meant, though we have

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τετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος 10
 ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλα-
 ταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ
 Μαραθῶνι ἐγένετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισού-
 μενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον 15
 τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει.
 112 ὥς δέ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγένετο καλά, ἐν-
 θαῦτα ὥς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς
 βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταί-
 χμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ
 ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι 5
 Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐ-

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already had a five-yearly festival mentioned as taking place at Sunium (*supr.* 87. 7).

11. τὰ ἀγαθὰ. The article is idiomatic in this context; it defines either the blessings which the gods will bestow, or those which the suppliant desires.

12. τασσομένων, κ.τ.λ. Herodotus seems to regard as the result of an accident, what was really due to the arrangement of the commanders, who, fearing to be out-flanked, drew out as wide a line as possible, and made the wings stronger than the centre. Such a disposition of the forces could only have been accidental if the numbers in the tribes in the centre had been less than those in the tribes in the wings. It is also possible that as they marched down the valley of Vrana, the wings held to the slopes of the hills, while the centre extended so as to cover the ground between them. But even

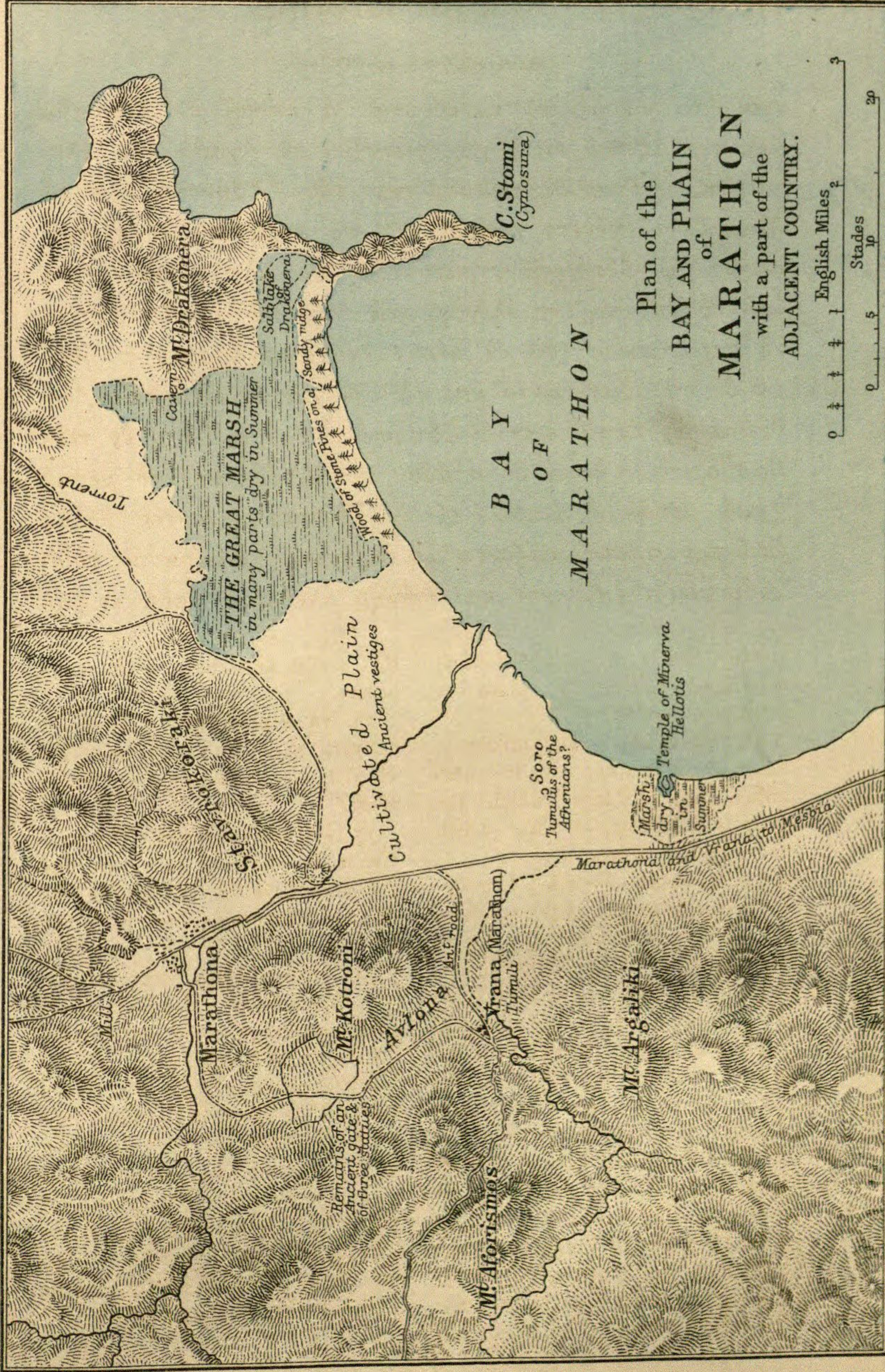
this would have been done under orders.

13. τὸ στρατόπεδον. There is no verb, the nominative being divided into τὸ μὲν μέσον and τὸ δὲ κέρας.

15. ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας. The genitive is the rule in Attic, yet we find the accusative in Thucydides (iv. 93) and Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 8. 11). Cf. *supr.* 12. 3.

112. 2. ἀπείθησαν, 'were let go.'

δρόμῳ ἵεντο. Much is made of this statement, some tacticians declaring that it is an absolute impossibility for an army to run a mile and then deliver an effective attack. See especially Delbrück, *Die Perserkriege*, 1887. But (1) we do not know exactly what is meant by δρόμῳ; (2) Greek soldiers though wearing heavy armour were lightly clad; (3) they were more accustomed to gymnastic exercises than modern soldiers.



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τοὺς ὀλίγους^a καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπείγομένους, οὔτε ἵπ-
 που ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν
 οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε ἀθρόοι
 10 προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου.
 πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρό-
 μῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆ-
 τά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας^b ταύτην ἡσθη-
 μένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ
 Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαρα- 113
 θῶνι χρόνος ἐγένετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ
 στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ
 καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ
 5 βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ
 δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες·
 νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν
 ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ
 κέρα ἀμφότερα^c ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύ-

^a ἐόντας ὀλίγους R (sv), Cob.^b ἄνδρας τοὺς Krüg.^c om. P R (s).

8. τοξευμάτων = τοξοτῶν. By 479 B.C. this defect was remedied; see ix. 22. Plutarch also informs us that archers were on board the Athenian ships at Salamis; cf. *supr.* 15. 5.

12. ἐσθῆτα, κ.τ.λ. The Persians had borrowed the Median dress; cf. *supr.* v. 104. 12 and Plut. *De Alex. M. Fortuna*, i. 8 οὐ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσήκατο τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Περσικὴν πολλῷ τῆς Μηδικῆς εὐτελεστέραν οὖσαν. There is of course some exaggeration in the statement of Herodotus, for the Asiatic Greeks, and even the Greek colonists in Thrace, must have been familiar

with the Persians and their dress. But this was the first appearance of the dreaded enemy on the shores of Greece. The impression made by the invaders is seen in many passages of Greek literature, e.g. Xenophanes, *Frag.* 9 P πηλίκος ἦσθ' ὅθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο; Theognis, 764, 775.

113. 4. Σάκαι. The Sacae were neighbours of the Bactrians, but of Scythian race; cf. vii. 64, where also their armour is described.

8. συναγαγόντες, κ.τ.λ. The precise movement is not clear. Herodotus appears to mean that the two wings faced about and took the Persians in flank.

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- γούσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς δ' ἐς τὴν ¹⁰
 θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἶτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο
 114 τῶν νεῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέ-
 μαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγα-
 θός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρα-
 σύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἐνθαῦτα
 ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεός, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς ⁵
 πελέκεϊ πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε
 115 καὶ ὀνομαστοί. ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν
 τρόπῳ τοιῷδε^a Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβα-
 ροὶ ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν
 τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλεον Σού-
 νιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ⁵
 τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίην^b δὲ ἔσχε ἐν^c Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμεωνι-
 δέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ
 συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα εἶσι ἤδη
 116 ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σούνιον· Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθουν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,
 καὶ ἐφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους

A shield
displayed.The
Athenians
return to
Athens.^a τοιούτῳ A B C.^b αἰτία B² R (sv).^c ἐν om. P R (sv).

10. The incidents of the battle were depicted in detail in the Stoa Poecile at Athens; see Append. 3. 12 b.

114. 4. Cynegirus was the brother of Aeschylus, the tragedian, who, according to tradition, himself fought in the battle of Marathon and caused the fact to be recorded on his tomb as the great distinction of his life. Another brother, Ameinias, distinguished himself at Salamis.

115. 3. ἐξανακρουσάμενοι = 'pushing off from shore to the open sea.'

6. αἰτίην ἔσχε, impersonal, 'the charge was made.'

116. 3. καὶ ἐφθησαν, κ.τ.λ. The distance from Marathon to Athens by road is about twenty-two miles; the distance by sea round Cape Sunium is from sixty to seventy miles. The voyage, according to the calculation given in iv. 86, would occupy a whole day and the march by land not much less. Later writers (Plutarch) assert that the Greeks reached home on the evening of the day of the battle, just in time to anticipate the arrival of the fleet.

DELOS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ἦκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἑρακλείου
 5 τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἑρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.
 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φα-
 λήρου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ
 τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς
 τὴν Ἀσίην.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν 117
 βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας,
 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν
 ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γε-
 5 νέσθαι τοιόνδε, Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κου-
 φαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσι μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινό-
 μενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων στερηθῆναι οὔτε πληγέντα
 οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς
 ζόης διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν.
 10 λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ
 λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ
 τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα
 τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παρα-
 στάτην ἀποκτεῖναι, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην
 15 λέγειν.

Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην 118
 ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ
 ἥτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη τά-
 χιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρὼν δὲ

Story of Epizelus.

Datis: his dream at Myconus.

Herodotus does not state this precisely, if he means it. The army might have reached Athens in the night, the fleet appearing off the coast in the morning.

117. 3. Recent excavations have at last proved that the so-called Soros, in the Plain of Marathon, is

the grave of the Athenians who fell in the battle; see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xii. 390.

7. πληγέντα . . . βληθέντα, 'injured by stroke or cast.'

118. 2. Myconus lay a little to the N.E. of Paros.

Cissia. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυν- 5
θάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἶη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ^a
ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἐωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον· καὶ ἀπίκατο
γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ Δήλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατί-
θεταί τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι
Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· 10
τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δᾶτις
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα
τοῦτον Δήλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἐτέων
εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ

119 Δῆλιον. τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶ-
τίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην
πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρεῖος,
πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας, ἐνεῖχε
σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν 5
Ἐρετριέων· ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἶδέ σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἐω-
τὸν καὶ ἐωυτῷ ὑποχειρίους ἐόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο
οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφεας τῆς Κισσίας χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν
σταθμῷ ἐωυτοῦ τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν
Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσε- 10
ράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας
ιδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσον-

The
captive
Eretrians.

^a ἐκ τοῦ Struve, Van H.

10. For the temple of Delium see Thucydides, iv. 76.

13. δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι, 'twenty years afterwards.'

119. 6. ἀπαχθέντας. Cf. Soph. Phil. 1029 τί μ' ἀπάγεσθε;

8. τῆς Κισσίας χώρας. Cf. v. 52. 31; 49. 37.

9. σταθμῷ = 'station,' in the sense in which we use the word in speak-

ing of a colony; 'settlement.' Ἀρδέρικκα. We must distinguish this place from the Ardericca on the Euphrates which is mentioned in i. 185. 13.

12. ιδέας. Cf. *supr.* 100. 8. ἀρύσσονται. The word is doubtful; see critical note. Stein would support it by such forms as ἀφύσσω, πινύσσω, etc.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ται^a ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνήϊ, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἥμισυ ἄσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται. ὑποτύψας
 15 δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγχείει ἐς δεξαμενήν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο^b διαχεόμενον τράπεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλες πήγνυνται παραυτίκα. τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ῥαδινάκην. ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὁδμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς
 20 Ἐρετριέας κατοίκισε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι 120
 μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλα-
 βεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ
 Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο
 5 ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μα-
 ραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ
 τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

Θῶμα δέ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλ- 121
 κμεωνίδας ἂν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσησι ἐκ συνθήματος

^a ἀφύσσονται L. Dind.: ἀρύονται Matthiae: ὀρύσσονται Cob.

^b ἄλλοσε ἄλλο Dobr.: ἄλλο ἐς ἄλλο Van H.

14. ὑποτύψας. Cf. ii. 136. 23
 κοντῶ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, iii.
 130. 18 ὑποτύψασα ἐκάστη φιάλη.

15. ἀντλέει. 'The collective singular is especially common in descriptions of customs, officers, sacrifices, arts; so i. 195. 4, 197. 2 f., 216. 7, ii. 38. 3, 47. 19, 65. 19, 70. 3, etc.' Stein.

16. The second receiver had three outlets by which the different elements in the oil were separated.

120. 2. καταλαβεῖν, lit. 'to over-

take,' i. e. to arrive before the battle was fought.

4. ὕστεροι. According to Plato, *Menex.* 240, *Laws* 698, they arrived on the day after the battle, in which case the battle must have taken place on the second or third day after the full moon; see *supr.* c. 106.

121. 1. Ἀλκμεωνίδας. Cf. *supr.* 115. The same story is alluded to by Pindar, *Pyth.* vii. 18 (489 B.C.).

2. ἂν ἀναδέξαι = ὥς ἀναδέξειαν ἂν. Cf. *infr.* 124. 5.

ATHENS. B.C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

The Alc-
maeonidae
and the
signal
shield.

ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθηναί-
ους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππίῃ· οἵτινες μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ
τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἰππονίκου δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύ- 5
ραννοι ἐόντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μῦθος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάν-
των ἐτόλμα, ὅπως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθη-
νέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημο-
σίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα
122 ἐμηχανᾶτο· [Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην
(Callias.) ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλελεγμένα,
ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν
Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε· ἵππῳ νικήσας, τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος
γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη 5
ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας δαπάνησι μεγίστησι. τοῦτο δὲ
κατὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρας εὔσας τρεῖς οἷός τις ἀνὴρ
ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου ὥραϊαι, ἔδωκε σφι
δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνησί τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ
πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἄνδρα ἐωυτῇ 10
123 ἐκλέξασθαι, ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.]^a καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι

^a Καλλίῳ . . . ἀνδρί om. A B C.

8. ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου, i. e. by the public slave (auctioneer).

122. The genuineness of this chapter has been called in question and not without reason. As a whole it is unlike the style of Herodotus, and it contains expressions which he does not use elsewhere.

1. πολλαχοῦ = 'on many occasions,' but the word is unnecessary, with πάντα τινὰ following, and Herodotus uses the form πολλαχῇ.

2. τὰ προλελεγμένα, κ.τ.λ. The grammatical construction of these words is vague, and προλελεγ. means 'said before the event,' not 'already

said'; which is the sense here required.

3. ἐλευθερῶν. This is more than Herodotus has said.

5. Πύθια, κ.τ.λ. These words are added in a loose illogical way, as though they were a part of what Callias had done at Olympia! ἐφανερώθη can only mean φανερός ἐγένετο, but λαμπρός and not φανερός is the word required.

9. δωρεὴν is either used metaphorically or in the sense of 'dowry'; in either case incorrectly, and not less incorrect is the use of the pronoun ἐκείνησι.

ATHENS. B. C. 490; Ol. 72. 3.

ὁμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τούτου ἦσανμισοτύραννοι. θῶμα The Alc-
 ὦν μοι καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀνα- maeonidae
 δέξαι ἀσπίδα, οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς opposed to
 5 τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισι- tyrants,
 στρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα. καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι and
 ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ περ' Ἀρμόδιός honoured
 τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξη- by the
 γρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδέων Ἰππαρχον people.
 10 ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν [τοὺς λοιποὺς]^a
 τυραννεύοντας. Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν,
 εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες
 προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας
 ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμ- 124
 φόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα.
 οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσάν σφεων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἐν γε Ἀθη-
 ναίοισι ἄνδρες, οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ
 5 λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἔκ γε ἂν^b τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ
 τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ
 ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέ-
 ξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

^a τοὺς λοιπούς del. Wess. : τοῦ λοιποῦ Reiske.^b ἂν om. A B.

123. 4. ἔφευγον. See v. 62. 7.
 The Alcmaeonidae were in banish-
 ment during the whole time from
 the third tyranny of Peisistratus till
 the expulsion of his sons.

7. Cf. v. 55. 5.

13. προσημαίνειν. Cf. v. 63. 4.

124. 2. According to Aelian, *V.H.*
 xiii. 24, Cleisthenes was ostracised,
 and to Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* 22,
 Megacles, the son of Hippocrates,
 was ostracised in 487 B. C. These
 instances indicate an alienation of

the Athenian people from the Alc-
 maeonidae, but on the other hand
 Xanthippus, who was connected with
 the family by his marriage with
 Agariste, was the leader of the popu-
 lar party at Athens in 489 B. C., and
 as such secured the condemnation of
 Miltiades. Yet he also was ostra-
 cised in 483 B. C.

4. οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει. 'It is not
 even reasonable.'

7. ὅς = ὅστις, as often, cf. v. 74. 5,
 vi. 37. 10.

SARDIS.

125 Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν
 λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνησι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐ-
 τις Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τοῦτο μὲν
 γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι
 παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν 5
 Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προ-
 θύμως, καί μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν
 ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἑωυτὸν εὖ ποιεῖν μετα-
 πέμπεται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ
 τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσά- 10
 παξ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύ-
 την τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε. ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέ-
 γαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κο-
 θόρνους τε^a τοὺς εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἔοντας ὑποδησάμενος,
 ἦιε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο. ἐσπесῶν 15
 δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρῶτον μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς
 κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ
 τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος [τοῦ χρυσοῦ]^b καὶ ἐς τὰς
 τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος, καὶ ἄλλο
 λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν 20
 μόγισ τοὺς^c κοθόρνους, παντὶ δέ τε^c οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ

^a τε reddidit St.^b τοῦ χρυσοῦ secl. St.^c μόγισ τοὺς P R (sv): μεγίστους cett.

125. 2. λαμπροί, κ.τ.λ. Cf. v. 62.
 15. Megacles, the father of Alcmaeon, was archon at the time of the suppression of the Cylonian conspiracy; see v. 71. 7.

5. ἐν Δελφοῖσι. The Alcmaeonidae may have retired to Delphi when banished from Athens in 537 B. C., but by this time Croesus had long ceased to be king of Lydia, and moreover Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, was now leader of the

family and Alcmaeon was probably dead. If we suppose that Herodotus is referring to an earlier period, when Alcmaeon was leader of the Athenians in the 'Sacred War,' we shall have to substitute Alyattes for Croesus. Cf. Bk. v. Appendix 11 (p. 162).

10. τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι, a dative of instrument.

12. προσέφερε, 'applied,' 'brought to bear on.'

SICYON.

ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγ-
 κωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλωσ ἐσῆλθε, καί οἱ
 πάντα τε ἐκείνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερα δωρέεται
 25 οὐκ ἐλάσσω^a ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη
 μέγας, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας
 Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται. μετὰ δὲ γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστε- 126
 ρον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε
 πολλῶ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἢ πρό-
 τερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρω-
 5 νος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγα-
 ρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν
 ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. Ὀλυμπίων ὧν ἐόν-
 των καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίππῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης κή-
 ρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλει-
 10 σθέneos γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἥκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην
 ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθέneos
 τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου
 ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν

The
 wedding of
 Agariste.

^a ἕτερα et ἐλάσσω ABC: ἑτέροισί μιν et ἐλάσσοσι cett.

26. τεθριπποτροφήσας, κ.τ.λ. Ac-
 cording to Isocrates, περὶ ζεύγ. 25,
 Alcmaeon was the first of the Athe-
 nians to win a victory with four
 horses at Olympia; cf. Pindar, *Pyth.*
 vii. 14.

126. 1. γενεῇ δευτέρῃ. Here
 again the chronology is wrong, for
 Megacles cannot have married
 Agariste much (if any) later than
 570 B. C., ten years before the acces-
 sion of Croesus, who is supposed to
 have enriched Alcmaeon.

5. τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. This seems to
 be the same person as the Orthagoras

of Aristotle and other authorities;
 cf. Appendix 5.

7. προσθεῖναι, 'to assign to,' so
 τιμὴν προστιθέναι τινί. This story
 of the wedding of Agariste is in
 many points unhistorical, but there
 is of course no reason to doubt that
 the tyranny at Sicyon ended with
 Cleisthenes, whose daughter if un-
 able to inherit his throne could
 inherit his wealth. There may have
 been some poetical version in exist-
 ence of the marriage of the great
 heiress. The date may be 572 B. C.

SICYON.

καὶ πάτρη ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλει-
 σθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐ-¹⁵
 127 τῷ τούτῳ εἶχε. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης
 ὁ Ἰπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς
 εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπρίκετο (ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρό-
 νον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σο-
 φοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἦλθον, ἐκ⁵
 δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου
 Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς
 δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχύι
 καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰτωλί-
 δος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. ἀπὸ¹⁰
 δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς^a

^a παῖς om. R (sv), Van H.

14. πάτρη, 'country'; cf. *infr.* 128. 3.

15. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ. 'For this very purpose,' i. e. the entertainment of his guests.

127. On this chapter see Zühlke, *De Agaristes nuptiis*, Zusterburgi, 1880.

1. Ἰταλίας. Italy is the southwestern part of the peninsula, south of a line drawn from Tarentum to the west; cf. iii. 136 where Tarentum is said to be in Italy, and i. 167. 15 where Elea is in Oenotria. For Smindyrides see Athenaeus, who tells us, p. 273, that he had not seen the sun rise or set for twenty years, and p. 541, that 1000 cooks attended him to Sicyon. In Diodorus, viii. 19, he is said to have surpassed in splendour, not only all his rivals, but even Cleisthenes himself.

3. εἰς ἀνὴρ. These words merely intensify the superlative; cf. Aesch.

Pers. 327 εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον παρασχών.

4. Σιρίτης. For Siris see *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 501.

6. Thucydides, i. 24, also places Epidamnus in the Ionian Gulf, by which he, like Herodotus, seems to mean the Adriatic; cf. Smith, *Dict. Geog.* Ionium Mare. Epidamnus was founded by the Corcyraeans in 627 B.C.

8. Τιτόρμου. In Aelian, *V. H.* 12. 22, Titormus is associated with Milo, the athlete of Croton, whom he is said to have surpassed in strength. As Milo lived about 520 B.C., Titormus and his brother Males must have belonged to a generation later than that of the daughter of Cleisthenes.

11. For Pheidon see Appendix 6. A Lacedes is mentioned by Pausanias, ii. 19. 2, among the kings of Argos, as the twelfth in descent from Temenus (i. e. *circa* 703 B.C.).

SICYON.

Λεωκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελο-
 ποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάν-
 των, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς
 15 τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ
 Ἀμιάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀζὴν
 ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου
 τε, ὥς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους
 οἰκίοισι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώ-
 20 πους, καὶ Ἡλείος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ
 ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπί-
 κοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ
 Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου,
 πλούτῳ καὶ εἰδεῖ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρε-
 25 τρίης ἀνθέυσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ
 ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκο-
 παδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλ-
 κων. τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστῆρες. ἀπικομένων 128
 δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης They are
 πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος entertained
 ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειράτο αὐτῶν for a year
 5 τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθείης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδεύσιός τε by Cleis-
 καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συν- thenes.
 ἀпасι· καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιάν τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν
 νεώτεροι, καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστοῖ^a διεπει-

^a συνεστοῖ R : συνεστή A B C, St. : συνιστή Bredow.

16. Trapezus was in S.W. Arcadia; Paeus in the N.W.

23. Hippocleides derived his descent from Ajax on the one hand, and Caeneus, the Lapith, on the other. Thus he was remotely connected with the Cypselidae of Corinth, and perhaps the connection

had been renewed at a later time, for he would seem to be the brother of the Cypselus mentioned, *supr.* 34.

4. See Append. 4.

128. 5. τῆς ὀργῆς, 'their temper.'

8. ἐν τῇ συνεστοῖ. This word is formed like ἡ εὐεστώ i. 85. 3. Stein suggests τῇ συνιστήσι ἐπειράτο.

SICYON.

The final
decision.Hippo-
cleides;
his dances.

ῥᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατείχε χρόνον αὐτούς, τοῦτον πάντα
ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου¹⁰
μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἡρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων
ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάν-
δρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθήν ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέ-
129 καθεν τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδησι ἦν προσήκων. ὥς
δὲ ἡ κυρίῃ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος
τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθέneos τὸν κρίναι
ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχ⁵
αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστήρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας.
ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστήρες ἔριν εἶχον
ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊ-
ούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ
Ἴπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελείην,
πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω ὥρχήσατο. καί κως ἐωυτῷ¹⁰
μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὥρχετο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ
πρῆγμα ὑπώπτευε. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης
χρόνον ἐκέλευσέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι, ἐσελθούσης δὲ
τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὥρχήσατο Λακω-
νικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ¹⁵

9. πάντα, sc. ταῦτα.

11. ἡρέσκοντο. The pronoun οἱ, which the sense requires, is no doubt omitted for the sake of euphony.

13. ἐκρίνετο, 'was selected'; cf. v. 5. 6.

129. 2. τῆς τε . . . γάμου. These words are explained by commentators as 'the marriage festival'; cf. i. 126 τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα, ix. 16.

6. ἀπὸ δείπνου. Cf. v. 18. 7.

7. ἐς τὸ μέσον, i. e. stories and anecdotes told for the amusement of all. Cf. *infr.* 130. 2, where ἐς μέσονmeans 'for all to hear,' and *supr.* 69. 3, vii. 8 δ. 7.8. κατέχων, 'holding' as with a charm; cf. *Odyssey*, xiii. 2 κηληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο. Others, however, translate 'surpassing.'

9. ἐμμελείην. The Emmeleia was strictly a tragic dance, but here the word means no more than a dance-tune.

15. σχημάτια. Cf. Aristoph. *Pax*, 322 μηδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν Πράγμα κάλλιστον διαφθείρητε διὰ τὰ σχήματα. ἄλλα, in the idiomatic sense ('others that were Attic').

SICYON.

τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι
ἐχειρονόμησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ
δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν^a οἱ ἔτι γε-
νέσθαι Ἰπποκλείδεα διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναι-
20 δείην, κατεῖχε ἑωυτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐ-
τόν· ὥς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κα-
τέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε “ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπωρχήσαό
γε μὲν τὸν γάμον.” ὁ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε
“οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ.” ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνο- 130
μάζεται^b, Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς
μέσον τάδε. “ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστήρες, ἐγὼ
καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν, εἰ οἶόν τε
5 εἴη, χαριζοίμην ἄν, μήτ’ ἓνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων
μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων, ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε
ἐστὶ μιῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλευόντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον
ποιέειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γά-
μου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιό-
10 σιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδη-
μίας, τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλείῃ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν
ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων.” φαμένου δὲ
ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένεϊ.
Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος^c τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο, 131
καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

^a ἄν om. A B C, Cob.^b νομίζεται? St. ^c κρίσι B² P R (sv), Van H.

18. ἀποστυγέων, κ.τ.λ., ‘regarding with horror the thought that he would be the husband of his daughter.’

12. ἀπωρχήσαο, κ.τ.λ., i. e. you dance well, but nevertheless (γε μὲν) your dancing has lost you your marriage.

130. 1. ὀνομάζεται, ‘is proverbial.’

9. τῆς ἀξιώσιος. Cf. *supr.* 126. 9.

10. ἐξ ἐμεῦ, i. e. ‘into my family.’

12. νόμοισι, κ.τ.λ. These words imply that marriage with an alien was at that time permitted by Athenian law.

131. 2. ἐβώσθησαν, ‘became famous’; cf. viii. 124.

ATHENS. B.C. 489(?); Ol. 72. 4.

The
descend-
ants of
Megacles.

τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς
φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας,
ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου·⁵
οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλείϊ καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ
Ἰπποκράτεος Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη
ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθέneos Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα· ἡ
συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος
ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲλέοντα τεκεῖν,¹⁰
καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

132

Miltiades :
his expedi-
tion to
Paros.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον Μιλ-
τιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι, τότε
μᾶλλον αὖξετο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ στρα-
τιήν τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφί ἐπ'
ἣν ἐπιστρατεύεται^a χώραν, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλου-⁵
τιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώραν τοιαύτην δὴ τινα
ἄξιον ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἀφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων
τοιαῦτα αἶτεε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαερ-
133 θέντες παρέδοσαν^b. παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν
στρατιήν ἐπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὥς οἱ Πά-

^a ἐπιστρατεύσεται R (sv), St., Van H.

^b ἔδοσαν Cob.

132. 1. τὸ τρῶμα, 'the disaster,'
i.e. of the Persians.

3. νέας ἑβδομήκοντα. Cf. *supr.*
89. 11.

5. ἐπιστρατεύεται. Present tense
of the intention. Compare the use of
the infinitive in *supr.* 99. 6.

7. Paros appears to have been a
very wealthy island, and at one time
it was certainly exceedingly populous.
The fact that the Parians were chosen
to settle the affairs of Miletus (*supr.*
v. 29) is sufficient proof of the pros-
perity and good government of the

island. Nevertheless it became in
some ways subject to Naxos (v. 31). It
was more accessible than Naxos, for
the island consists of a single moun-
tain, surrounded by a maritime plain;
and in this fact may lie the explana-
tion of both its prosperity and its
subjugation. See Bent, *Cyclades*,
p. 372.

133. For other accounts of this
expedition see Ephorus, *Frag.* 107
M, and Nepos, *Milt.* 7, quoted in
Appendix 7.

ATHENS. B.C. 489(?); Ol. 72. 4.

ριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι^a στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαρα-
 θῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων
 5 ἦν, ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι διὰ Λυ-
 σαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα
 μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ' ἦν^b
 ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους κα-
 τειλημένους^c ἐντὸς τείχεος, καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἶτεε
 10 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φάσ, ἦν μιν οὐ^d δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστή-
 σειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι
 ὅκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ^e διανοεύν-
 το, οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσιν τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχα-
 νῶντο, ἅλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε
 15 ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξηεί-
 ρετο^f διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ
 λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐ-
 τοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, εἴουσιν μὲν Πα-
 5 ρίην γένος, οὖνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑπο-

134

Failure
of the
attempt,
and dis-
aster of
Miltiades.^a πρότεροι ἀδικίης? St.^b ἐς τὴν P R (sv).^c κατειλημένους P: κατειλημμένους cett.^d μιν οὐ A B C: μή οἱ P R (sv).^e ἀργυρίου οὐδέν P R (sv).^f ἐξηείρετο Dobr.: ἐξήρετο P R (sv): ἐξήρτο cett.

3. ὑπῆρξαν. Cf. vii. 8 ὑπῆρξαν
 ἄδικα ποιεῦντες, ix. 78. There is no
 need to insert ἀδικίης after ὑπῆρξαν.

5. ἔγκοτον. ἔγκοτον is often a
 substantive in Herodotus, *supr.* 73. 4.

7. Ὑδάρνεα. This Hydarnes is
 no doubt the same person who is
 mentioned in vii. 135 as general of
 the forces on the sea coast, and pro-
 bably the same man as the leader of
 the Immortals in the great invasion.
 He may have succeeded Otanes as
 general after the capture of Clazo-

menae and Cyme (cf. v. 123), and as
 such have been brought into con-
 nection with Miltiades. ἐπ' ἦν ἔπλεε,
 i. e. ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπ' ἦν.

10. ἦν μιν οὐ δῶσι, cf. *supr.* 9. 20,
 and Kallenberg, *Comm. Crit.* p. 6.

14, 15. καὶ τῇ μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ.,
 'and above all, wherever there was
 on each occasion (i. e. after each
 attack) a breach or weak place in
 the wall.' ἐπίμαχον is used like
 σύντομος in v. 17. 7, cf. i. 84. 16. τοῦ
 τείχεος, the genitive depends on τῇ.

ATHENS. B.C. 489; Ol. 72. 4.

His visit
to the
temple of
Demeter.

ζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν
Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλευσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέεται
Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτῇ ὑποθῇται, ταῦτα ποιέειν.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον^a ἐπὶ
τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔοντα ἔρκος θεσμο- 10
φόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας
ἀνοίξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι
δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων
εἴτε ὃ τι δὴ κότε πρήξοντα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσι τε γενέ-
σθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τὴν 15
αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴεσθαι, καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιήν
τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖ-
135 σαι λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέ-
πλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πά-
ρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ
εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυ-
θόμενοι ὥς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμὼ Μιλτιάδῃ 5
κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι,
θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς, ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίῃ
τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ
καταχρήσωνται^b τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν ὥς ἐξηγησα-
μένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς 10

Timo.

^a ἀπικόμενον P R (sv) : fort. διέρποντα St.^b καταχρήσωνται B R (sv) ; καταχρήσονται cett.

134. 9. διερχόμενον. The word is doubtful, for Herodotus does not use the present participle of ἔρχομαι. Krüger reads ἀπικόμενον, and so Van H., after P R (sv).

15. πρόκατε, 'forthwith'; cf. i. 111. 26 ; viii. 65. 9 ; 135. 10. The word is formed from πρό (cf. αὐτίκα), and τε is added to the word thus formed.

16. καταθρώσκοντα τὴν αἵμασιήν. The construction is remarkable ; perhaps it follows the analogy of ὑπερθορεῖν or of καταβαίνειν. For compounds with κατά in Herodotus see Kallenberg, *l. c.* p. 22 ; *supr.* 5. 2, 16. 11, 97. 7.135. 8. εἰ καταχρήσωνται, cf. *supr.* 11. 10.

ATHENS. B.C. 489; Ol. 72. 4.

ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. ἡ δὲ
 Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τού-
 των, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί
 οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα. Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ 136
 Πυθίη ἔχρησε. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπο-
 νοστήσαντα ἔσχον^a ἐν στόμασι οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα
 Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ
 5 τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵ-
 νεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο·
 ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου
 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης
 τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι
 10 καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν, ὥς ἐλὼν Λῆμνόν τε^b καὶ τισά-
 μενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενο-
 μένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανά-
 του, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάν-
 τοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ
 15 μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
 ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

^a εἶχον? Krüg.^b τε Λῆμνον maluit St.

13. δεῖν γὰρ . . . εὖ. Miltiades, according to Pausanias, had persuaded the Athenians to throw the envoys sent by Darius to Athens into the Barathron, and for this reason the wrath of Talthybius descended upon him. Cf. Paus. iii. 12. 7.

φανῆναι, 'appeared,' 'was divinely sent.'

136. 4. θανάτου, i. e. on a charge involving the penalty of death.

ὑπαγαγὼν. Cf. *supr.* 72. 7, 82.

10. τὴν αἵρεσιν. For the acc. cf. viii. 66. 16. The preceding gen.

(μάχης) is due to the insertion of πολλά, cf. ii. 3 τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ αὐτῶν.

12. The guilt of a criminal and the amount of the penalty were treated as separate questions in Athenian law, and decided by separate votes. Miltiades was found guilty of deceiving the people, but the penalty of death proposed by Xanthippus was reduced to a fine of fifty talents (£10,000), which was perhaps proposed by the friends of Miltiades.

κατά = 'in respect of.'

ATHENS.

137

The
Pelasgians
at Athens.

Δῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὦδε ἔσχε. Πελασγοὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὦν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ 5 ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι^a οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὥς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον¹⁰ τε καὶ ἥμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι. κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμωμένους ἀδικέειν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας¹⁵ θυγατέρας [τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας]^b ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ

^a Πελασγοῖσι add. St.^b τε . . . παῖδας del. Schäf.

137. 4. Ἑκαταῖος. Cf. v. 36. 7.

5. ἔφησε . . . λέγων ἀδίκως. Cf. *supr.* 53. 10. Hecataeus used the word ἀδίκως in his work.6. ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσόν, *infr.* 1. 14 ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, cf. v. 12. 11, 21. 1, etc.

7. Πελασγοῖσι. The name is omitted in the MSS., but it is required by the sense. These Pelasgi came from Boeotia according to the legend (Strabo, p. 401), and must be distinguished from the Pelasgi, who, according to Herodotus, were the original population of Attica. Cf. v. 69. 2 and note.

8. τοῦ τείχεος. Cf. v. 64 *ult.* note.10. εἶναι. The mood of the relative clause is attracted into the infinitive, as often. Cf. v. 9. 5; *supr.* 52. 6. So ἰδεῖν just above.

16. Ἐννεάκρουνον. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 15 καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τύραννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούμφη καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένη, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. From the present passage it is clear that the Enneacrunus lay between the city and Hymettus.

17. τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, κ.τ.λ. As the Pelasgians were driven into

ATHENS.

τοῖσι ἄλλοισι "Ελλησι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐται,
 τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι
 20 σφεας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ
 τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν^a φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτο-
 φώρῳ. ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμεί-
 νοντας, ὅσῳ παρεὼν ἑωυτοῖσι^b ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς,
 ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ
 25 σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκ-
 χωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον.
 ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέ-
 γουσι. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι 138
 καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε
 ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτη-
 σάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὀρτὴν
 5 τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες
 τουτέων πολλὰς οἶχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς

They are
driven out
to Lemnos.

^a ἐπιχείρησιν B², Reiske: ἐπιχειρήσειν cett.

^b αὐτοῖσι Libb., corr. St.

Attica by the emigration of the Boeotians into Boeotia, we may fix the date at two generations after the Trojan war. What ground Herodotus had for saying that the Greeks at this time had no slaves is unknown. In the Homeric poems we find the Greeks in possession of slaves both by purchase and conquest. On the other hand, in parts of Greece where primitive conditions prevailed, as in Phocis, we are told that there were no slaves; and similar conditions were perhaps thought to have prevailed throughout the whole of Greece in very early times.

21. ἐπιχείρησιν with ἐπιβουλεύοντας, but see critical note.

φανῆναι, 'were detected.'

26. ἄλλα τε . . . καὶ . . . Λῆμνον. We hear of Pelasgi in Samothrace (ii. 51), in Lemnos and Imbros (v. 26), in Placia and Scylace (i. 57). For Lemnos, cf. Pauli, *Eine Vorgriechische Inschrift. auf Lemnos*, an inscription which is by some regarded as Tyrrhenian (Etruscan).

138. 4. Βραυρῶνι. Brauron lay on or near the eastern coast of Attica, between Steiria and Halae Araphenides. Orestes and Iphigenia are supposed to have landed there, and to have brought with them the statue of Artemis from Taurus. See Smith, *Dict. Geog. Attica*, p. 330.

LEMNOS.

Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον. ὥς δὲ τέκνων αὐταὶ
 αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀπτικήν
 καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οἱ
 δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναι-¹⁰
 κῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκεί-
 νων τινός, ἐβοήθειον τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλή-
 λουσι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἐδι-
 καίεν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτεον. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
 Πελασγοὶ ἐωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καί σφι βουλευομέ-¹⁵
 νοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε
 βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς
 παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρώατο, τί δὴ ἀν-
 δρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι. ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξέ σφι κτεί-
 νειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀπτικέων γυναικῶν. ποι-²⁰
 εῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δέ σφρων καὶ τὰς
 μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου
 τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄν-
 δρας σφετέρους ἀποκτεῖναι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλ-
 139 λάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι. ἀπο-
 κτεῖνασι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδάς τε

Their
 cruelty and
 its punish-
 ment.

13. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν. Compare what is said of the boyhood of Cyrus, i. 114. This story (like many others) was invented to justify the Athenians in their appropriation of territory.

16. δεινόν τι = δέος. σφι. So ἐσελθεῖν is used with the dative in iii. 15. 42. εἰ δὴ, κ.τ.λ. 'If these boys resolved to assist each other against the children of the wedded wives, and attempted forthwith to be masters of them.' The optative is of course due to oratio obliqua.

23. Θόαντι. According to the legend, the Lemnian women put to death all the men in the island, Hypsipyle alone saving her father Thoas; see Apollod. i. 9. 17. Herodotus would seem to follow another version, in which Thoas was slain with the rest. Cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 631

κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον
 λόγῳ· γοᾶται δὲ δῆποθεν κατὰ-
 πτυστον· ἤκασεν δέ τις
 τὸ δεινὸν αὖ Λημνίοισι πῆμασιν.

ATHENS.

καὶ γυναῖκας οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε
καὶ ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι
5 δὲ λιμῶ καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ
αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας
ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἀν' αὐτοῖ
Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι.^a ἦλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ
Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι
10 παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτα-
νηίῳ κλίνην στρώσαντες ὡς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπε-
ζαν ἐπιπλήην ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον
τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω
ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν “ ἐπεὰν
15 βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ νηὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης
ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, τότε παραδώσομεν,” ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο
εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον
κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Δήμνου. τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔτεσι 140
δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἡ
ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοισι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ
Κίμωνος ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας
5 ἐξ Ἑλαιοῦντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Δῆμνον προηγό-
ρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμιμνή-
σκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἤλπισαν σφίσι

Lemnos
acquired
by the
Athenians.

^a δικαίῳσι Cob.

139. 3. See *supr.* v. 82. 2.

11. ὡς εἶχον, ‘as they were able.’
Cf. *supr.* 116. 2 ὡς ποδῶν τάχιστα
εἶχον.

14. ὑπολαβόντες, ‘retorting’;
stronger than ὑποκρινάμενοι.

16. ἐπιστάμενοι. Cf. v. 74. 3.

140. The date of the incident
would probably be, according to
Greek reckoning, some 500 years

before the Ionian revolt. At what
time Lemnos was conquered by
Miltiades is doubtful; apparently
we should fix the capture in the
early years of the Ionian revolt; but
cf. *supr.* 41 and v. 26. 27.

4. ἐτησιέων, κ.τ.λ., ‘during the
prevalence of the Etesian winds,’
which blow from the N.E. through-
out July, August and September.

LEMNOS. B.C. 496 (?); Ol. 71. 1.

οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἑφαιστιῖες μὲν νυν ἐπεί-
 θοντο, Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερ-
 σόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι παρέ-¹⁰
 στησαν. οὕτω δὲ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ
 Μιλτιάδης.

8. Ἑφαιστιῖες. There were two cities in Lemnos, Hephaestia in the north, and Myrina in the west of the island.

APPENDIX



EXCURSUS I.

VI. 57.

HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES.

AMONG the legends of Greek authors, there has come down to us one which directly connects Thucydides with Herodotus. We are told that Olorus, the father of Thucydides, carried his son while yet a child to Olympia to hear Herodotus repeat a portion of his history, and so deep was the impression made by the recital, that the boy burst into tears. In such an incident, there is nothing highly improbable, for it was the manner of those times for an author to recite his works in public, and Herodotus may have paid a visit to Greece, while Thucydides was yet in his boyhood. But though not improbable, the story is too dramatic to be accepted without better evidence than we can produce in its favour, and if we wish to answer the interesting question, whether the work of Herodotus was known to Thucydides, our answer can only be obtained from a comparison of the writings of the two historians.

In the introduction to his work, Thucydides more than once expresses himself in a manner which would lead us to suppose that he had carefully studied the written literature of his country. Not only does he quote Homer and criticise what he quotes, but he points out in general terms the untrustworthy nature of the evidence to be derived from poets. He calls attention also to the carelessness and inaccuracy of the current accounts of past Athenian history. He intimates that the writers who had hitherto

obtained reputation as historians, had written not so much with a desire to instruct as to astonish and amuse their audience ; above all, in one remarkable passage, he speaks of the writers who preceded him as bestowing attention either on the Persian Wars or the period antecedent to them ; Hellanicus alone having sketched the growth of the Athenian empire after the battle of Salamis. A passage as definite as this would certainly lead us to believe that Thucydides had not omitted to study the work of one whom he could hardly fail to recognize as the greatest of the historians of the Persian Invasion. It is true that he does not mention Herodotus by name, but this is a matter of no moment, for whether borrowing from them or criticising their statements, the prose writers of the fifth century B. C. rarely mention their predecessors by name.

On general grounds, therefore, it is probable enough that Thucydides was acquainted with the work of Herodotus, and the probability becomes stronger still, when we turn to evidence of a more minute character. In a number of instances we find that the statements of Herodotus are either directly or implicitly contravened by the statements of Thucydides : such instances are the following.

(1) In vi. 57 Herodotus informs us that when the kings of Sparta were absent from the Gerousia, their votes were given for them by the next of kin. His language is not very clear, and though we are not absolutely compelled to believe that each kinsman gave two votes for the absent king, he speaks of each kinsman as giving his own vote as a third. See note *ad loc.* On the other hand Thucydides, i. 20, mentions, as one of the misconceptions current in his time on contemporary history, the prevailing idea that the Spartan kings had two votes each, whereas as a fact, they had but one.

(2) In ix. 53 Herodotus speaks of Amompharetus as being in charge of the lochus of the Pitaneans in the Spartan army at Plataea, but Thucydides *l. c.* denies emphatically the existence of such a lochus. [Pitana, of course, was one of the villages which composed the township of Sparta, and if as we know the inhabitants of Sciris always formed a separate company in the

Spartan army, there is no reason why the inhabitants of Pitana should not have been formed into a separate troop, at any rate on the occasion of the battle of Plataea, even if there were no standing division of the Spartan army known as the Pitanensian lochus.]

(3) In v. 3 Herodotus speaks of the Thracians as the greatest nation in the world next to the Indians; on the other hand, Thucydides, ii. 97, gives the first place to the Scythians both in Europe and Asia, placing the Thracians far behind them, but expressing no opinion as to the relation of the Scythians and the Indians.

(4) In vi. 98 Herodotus informs us that after the departure of Datis from Delos (490 B.C.) the island was shaken by an earthquake, which was the first and only earthquake that had occurred there down to his time. On the other hand Thucydides, ii. 8, tells us that a little before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war in 431 B.C. an earthquake occurred in Delos, the first that had been known in the island within the memory of the Greeks.

(5) In v. 32 Herodotus states as a current report, of the truth of which he has however some doubt, that Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus proposed to marry the daughter of Megabates the Persian, who was satrap of Phrygia at the time, with a view to making himself tyrant of Greece: on the other hand Thucydides i. 128 quotes verbatim the letter from Pausanias to Xerxes, in which, while offering to bring Greece into subjection to Persia, he proposes himself as a suitor to the daughter of the Great King,—and it may be added that this contradiction in the facts is but a small part of the wide difference between the views which the two historians take of the character of Pausanias.

(6) The statements which Thucydides makes about the tyrants of Sicily seem intended to correct the exaggerated ideas which historians had formed of their power and achievements. For while Herodotus places the 'Tyrants of Syracuse' at the head of all the potentates of Greece, and describes in glowing terms the resources of Gelo, and the victory which he won at Himera in the cause of Hellas and freedom, Thucydides

though allowing that the tyrants of Sicily attained a higher degree of power than any others, speaks of them as men occupied with personal interests only, who achieved nothing of importance, unless perhaps in some war with their neighbours.

(7) When Herodotus and Thucydides are narrating the same events, the two accounts do not entirely agree. From Herod. ix. 114 we learn that the Peloponnesians under Leotychidas accompanied the Athenian fleet as far as Lectum, in the Troad; from Thuc. i. 89 we should infer that they went away immediately after the battle of Mycale. Herodotus again speaks of the formal reception of the *islanders* into the alliance after Mycale, but Thucydides calls the *Ionians* and *Hellespontians* 'allies' of the Athenians. Once more, Herodotus, ix. 13, asserts that Mardonius burnt Athens and levelled with the ground any wall, house, or temple, that was left standing (by Xerxes); but Thucydides, i. 89, tells us that a few houses, in which the principal Persians lived, were allowed to remain, and there were also some fragments of the city wall.

These instances do not of course supply us with anything which amounts to a proof that Thucydides had read the work of Herodotus, but of some of them it may be said that they touch on matters which Thucydides was not compelled to mention; and therefore the fact that he does mention these matters implies that they had for some reason a peculiar interest for him. The theory that he was correcting the mistakes of his great predecessor provides at least an explanation of this peculiar interest.

EXCURSUS II.

VI. 53, 54, 55.

ON THE CONNECTION OF GREECE AND EGYPT IN EARLY TIMES.

WHEN Herodotus tells us that the ancient kings of Argos down to Acrisius were true-born Egyptians, he is no doubt thinking of their legendary descent from Danaus and Aegyptus. This legend, though nothing is said of it in Homer, appears to be as old as Hesiod. Like that of Cadmus in Boeotia, it is obviously mythical in many details; but recent discoveries in the literature and antiquities of Egypt, taken in connection with the results of excavation in Greece, make it clear that in much that is false there is still an element of truth, and that Greece and Egypt were closely connected in very early times.

The most certain indications of this connection are found at Mycenae and at Gurob in Egypt. In his recent essay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xii. p. 199 ff., Mr. Petrie has done good service by comparing the objects discovered in the Mycenaean tombs with similar objects discovered in Egypt, and known to belong to a certain period of Egyptian history. His view is that the civilisation of Mycenae is an independent development of the knowledge derived from Egypt.

He ends thus:—‘Was the Mycenaean culture an isolated culture? Or was it part of a wide-spread intercourse? Certainly to Egypt a great deal must be attributed, if not indeed all the elements of importance. The main feature of decoration is the spiral pattern, often elaborately evolved. And the very elaborations that we find are exact copies of Egyptian decorations. For instances see the painting on the ceilings of tombs

at Thebes (copied by Prisse, republished in Perrot's *Egypt*, fig. 541). Here is the crossing twist (No. 3), the interlinking spiral (No. 5), and the flamboyant spiral (7 and 8), giving the peculiar curves found at Tiryns (*Tiryns*, Pls. vi and xii). On the Egyptian ceilings are also the rosettes and the keyfret which are so frequent in Greece; and the palmetto is almost identical with a wooden panel bearing a derived lotus pattern of about 1300 B.C., which I found at Gurob. The work of the inlaid daggers has long been recognised as inspired from Egypt; but we must note that it is native work, and not merely an imported article. The attitudes of the figures and of the lions, and the form of the cat, are such as no Egyptian would ever have executed¹. To make such things in Greece implies a far higher culture, and a more intimate intercourse with Egypt, than merely to import them. The same remark applies to the glazed pottery. Much of it might have been made in Egypt, but the style of some is not Egyptian; and especially a tall vase with spiral patterns in slanting bands is clearly a product of the same class as the Mycenaean architectural ornament. Here then the Mycenaeans were capable of elaborate technical work, and imitated rather than imported from Egypt. Another analogy with Egyptian work is seen in the grandly embroidered square sails painted on the frescoes at Mycenae (*Ephemeris*, 1877, Pl. xii). The horizontal bands of embroidery, the square form and suspension from the mast, are all like Egyptian sails of the Ramesside age; but yet these sails are not from Egypt, as the decoration is distinctly Mycenaean, and without any Egyptian influence.'

To a certain degree evidence like this is to be relied upon, but we must not allow it to carry us too far. It is beyond reasonable doubt that wares ornamented in the Egyptian manner are found in Greece. It is equally clear that wares resembling those found at Mycenae are found in Egypt, and to this extent

¹ This assertion is perhaps too strong. In the tomb of Aa Hotep (belonging to the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty = 1700-1600 B.C.) a dagger has been found which closely resembles the decorated poniards of Mycenae.

a close connection is proved to have existed between Greece and Egypt in early times. But this is all that is clear. We are, as yet, quite ignorant of the ethnology of these early Mycenaeans; we may call them Danai or Achaeans, but these names really mean nothing. The Danai do not exist outside the epic poems; and among the historical Achaeans (in Achaea Phthiotis and in northern Peloponnesus) no relics have been found of the so-called Achaean civilisation. The princes of Mycenae may have dwelt in Mycenae without being Greeks; they may have been some oriental invaders holding the same position towards the inhabitants of the Peloponnese, which the Romans held in Britain, and like them leaving traces of their sojourn though they were entirely driven out of the country. The assertion of Herodotus that the early kings of Argos were Egyptians cannot of course be proved to be true, but the evidence in support of it is growing. And these kings may have been displaced by another alien (Aegean) race from Asia Minor, the Pelopids of legend¹.

More precarious is the evidence derived from Egyptian monuments, for this rests entirely on the identification of names which occur in Egyptian inscriptions with the names of certain nations in the West; and even among professed Egyptologists there seems to be considerable doubt as to the reading and interpretation and identification of these names.

(a) Among the tribes which bring tribute to Tuthmosis III

¹ We must allow that the pottery of Mycenae is not Egyptian.—To speak of the Mycenaeans as a pure Greek race seems to me rash, and when Dr. Leaf quotes Herodotus in support of the assertion that the Ionians were Pelasgians Hellenized by the *Achaeans* (*Companion to the Iliad*, p. 6), it is well to remember that Herodotus never mentions the Achaeans in this connection.

On the traces of Mycenaean (Aegean) civilisation in Egypt see Petrie's account of his excavations at Gurob (summarized in *Ten Years of Digging in Egypt*, p. 128 ff.); also Steindorff, *Archaeol. Anz.* 1892, p. 13 ff. At Mycenae the name of Amenophis has been found on a porcelain vase, and a scarabaeus with the name of his wife, Queen Ti. See Winter, *Archaeol. Anz.* 1891, p. 38, and for the difference between Egyptian and Mycenaean art, Perrot in *Bulletin de Correspondance* 1891, p. 496 ff. (These references I owe to the kindness of Mr. A. Lang and Professor Gardner.)

are the Tanai, which have often been identified with the Homeric Danai. This identification is assumed to be correct by Dr. Birch, but on the other hand Wiedemann is by no means inclined to accept it; and as we find the Tanai bringing as offerings to Tuthmosis a silver jug of Cyprian fabric, with vases of ironstone and four silver hands, there is much to be said for Wiedemann's doubt¹.

(b) In another inscription of Tuthmosis III we have mentioned among the nations conquered or supposed to be conquered by Tuthmosis 'those who belonged to the isles in the midst of the Great Sea' and the 'isles of the Tena.' Dr. Birch gives as various readings of the word Tena, Uten Danai, or Dauni; Wiedemann has Tenau; Meyer, however, has Utentin; the last-named authority definitely abandons the reading 'islands of the Tenau,' and the identification of the Tenau and Danai².

(c) Under Merenpthah, the successor of Ramses II, there was a great invasion of Egypt by a number of tribes, partly from Libya, partly from other regions. The names of the tribes recorded are these:—Lebu, Kehak, Mashuash, Akauasha, Tulsha or Turisha, Leku, Sharten or Shardana, and Shekelsha. Of these names E. de Rougé identified the Akauasha (Akaiwasha) with Achaeans; the Shardana with Sardinians; the Turisha with Etruscans (Tyrrhenians); the Shekelsha with Siculi; the Leku with Lycians. And this identification has been adopted by later writers, such as Birch and Petrie, and in part by Meyer³.

On the other hand, Wiedemann strongly contests the identification proposed by de Rougé. He points out that the Lebu are undoubtedly the Libyans, and that the Mashuasha are the Maxyes of Herodotus. The Shardana, so far from being Sardinians, must have lived near Egypt, as is

¹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 46; Wiedemann, *Aegypt. Gesch.* p. 353. The date of Tuthmosis is 1480–1430 B.C.

² *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 27; Wiedemann, *l.c.* 372; Meyer, *Gesch. Aegypt.* pp. 245, 230 n. 2.

³ Wiedemann, *l.c.* p. 474; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 42; Meyer, *l.c.* p. 304 (the date of the expedition is about 1230 B.C.); Petrie, *l.c.*

shown by the fact that Ramses II took 1900 of them captive, which Wiedemann considers to be a number impossible of a mere band of invaders coming over the sea. Moreover, the name Shardana appears elsewhere in connection with Mashu-asha, which would seem to imply a local contiguity. Nor will Wiedemann allow the Akauasha to be Achaeans; the Egyptians, he says, were precise in transcribing names, and as they have a χ , they would not put κ in the place of χ ; nor would the Greek s be rendered by sh . We may also add that the tribes joining in the expedition would not be spoken of in the singular but in the plural, so that s would not appear in the Greek form of the name. Nor again can we suppose that the whole of the western Mediterranean was so highly organised that Lycians and Sardinians, Siculi and Etruscans, would join in an invasion of Egypt. Lastly, we are told that 'in armour, clothing, and mode of fighting, as well as in the various names of the leaders which have been preserved, these nations correspond completely to the Libyan opponents of the Egyptians, the so-called Tehennu and Tamehu¹.'

(*d*) Another great invasion took place under Ramses III; an invasion which was finally defeated in a battle by sea. Among the nations concerned in this are mentioned 'the Danauna from their islands' (Meyer), or 'Tanaiu' (Wiedemann²). Here again the reading slightly differs, and we can hardly venture to identify this island population with the Danai of Argos, though it is only just to add that in Greek legend Danaus, or his daughters, founded the temple of Athena Lindia in Crete³.

At present, therefore, we are not in a position to maintain that the Greeks took part in these great invasions of Egypt, or that any names occur in Egyptian inscriptions which can with certainty be ascribed to the inhabitants of the Peloponnese⁴.

¹ Wiedemann, *l. c.* p. 476.

² Wiedemann, *l. c.* p. 499; Meyer, *l. c.* p. 312.

³ Diod. v. 58; Herod. ii. 182.

⁴ Mr. Petrie takes a different view in his essay quoted above, but see Steindorff, *l. c.*

EXCURSUS III.

VI. 109.

A. ON THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

ESSAYS innumerable have been written on the battle of Marathon, partly with an endeavour to clear up the difficulties in the story of Herodotus, and partly in the hope of giving a more detailed account of the battle, with the help of later authorities. But the result has been very small. On the one hand, the difficulties cannot be removed, without altering or rejecting the text of Herodotus, who is our oldest authority; on the other hand, conjectures of what may have happened are not history; nor can we really help ourselves by piecing together a description of the battle from the contradictory accounts of writers who were separated from each other by a century or many centuries.

In place, therefore, of attempting another essay, I prefer to collect the passages of ancient authors, other than Herodotus, which bear upon the subject, omitting, of course, those passages which are merely rhetorical and contain no definite statement of fact¹.

¹ On the battle, see Finlay, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, iii. 373; Leake, *Demi of Attica*, ii. 203 ff.; Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, ii. App. 3; and the essays in Rawlinson, and Strachan's editions of Herod. Book vi. Readers of German may add: Curtius, *Gesch. Griech.* ii. 21 f.: 812, and the references there given (6th edition); Duncker, vii. 120 f., and the same author's *Behandlungen*; Delbrück, *Die Perserkriege und die Burgunderkriege*, p. 53; Holm, *G. G.* ii. 29. The chief difficulties are these: (1) the absence of the Persian horsemen from the battle (vi. 113, where nothing is said of their presence, though

1. Ὑστερον δὲ ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς ἐπεστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, γνόντες τῶν συμφορῶν τῶν ἐπιουσῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔγνωσαν τοὺς τε φεύγοντας καταδέξασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινὴν τὴν τε σωτηρίαν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ποιήσασθαι. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ δόντες ἀλλήλοις πίστεις καὶ ὅρκους μεγάλους, ἡξίουں σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προτάξαντες πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις Μαραθῶνάδε, νομίσαντες τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἱκανὴν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἐκείνων ἀντιτάξασθαι* μαχεσάμενοί τε ἐνίκων, καὶ τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα ἡλευθέρωσαν, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἔσωσαν.

Andocides, *De Mysteriis*, § 107.

2. Ἔστειλε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιάν (ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς).

Lysias, ii. 21.

3. Lycurgus, § 109, quotes the epigram:—

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

4. Ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀρετὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθεῖσιν. ἀποβάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν οὐ περιέμειναν τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον κίνδυνον ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρονήσαντας ἀπήντων τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφθισαν πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντες ἦκον ἡμῖν ἀμυνοῦντες, τοσαύτην ποιησάμενοι σπουδὴν ὅσην περ ἂν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας πορθουμένης. σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης* τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πυθέσθαι τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντας τρόπαιον στήσαι τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ δια-

Marathon was chosen as being suited for cavalry); (2) the long delay of the Persians extending apparently from the 6th to the 17th of the month (vi. 120 with note, Duncker, *G. A.* vii. 134 note); (3) the rapid embarkation of the Persians, and the signal shield (Herod. vi. 115, cf. Plutarch, *De Malig. Herod.* c. 27); (4) the possibility of giving an effective charge after a mile of march at the double (vi. 112 note). It seems pretty clear that Vrana, and not Marathona, was the ancient Marathon, but the precise position of the armies cannot be determined.

κόσια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευομένους. οὕτω σφόδρ' ἠπείχθησαν οἱ μὲν μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, οἱ δὲ φθῆναι συμβαλόντες πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς βοηθήσοντας.

Isocrates, *Panegy.* §§ 86, 87.

5. Προσέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοὰν τὴν ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη γέγραπται. τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτως μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. πῶς; οὐκ ᾔτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ᾔτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

Aeschines, *In Ctesiph.* § 186.

6. Σχεδὸν γὰρ δέκα ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἀφίκετο Δᾶτις Περσικὸν στόλον ἄγων πέμψαντος Δαρείου διαρρήδην ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἐρετριέας, ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀγαγεῖν, θάνατον αὐτῷ προειπὼν μὴ πράξαντι ταῦτα. καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τοὺς μὲν Ἐρετριέας ἐν τινι βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παντάπασι κατὰ κράτος τε εἶλε μυριάσι συχναῖς, καὶ τινα λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκε φοβερόν, ὥς οὐδεὶς Ἐρετρίων αὐτὸν ἀποπεφευγὼς εἶη· συνάψαντες γὰρ ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Δάτιδος. ὁ δὲ λόγος, εἴτε ἀληθὴς εἴτε καὶ ὅπῃ ἀφίκετο, τοὺς τε ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐξέπληττε, καὶ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς πανταχόσε βοηθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε πλὴν γε Λακεδαιμονίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δὴ τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς, οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγόμενον, ὕστεροι δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ.

Plato, *Laws*, 698 C-E.

7. Αἰτιασάμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας, Σάρδεσιν ἐπιβουλεύσαι προφασιζόμενος, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πεντήκοντα ἐν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσί, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας, Δᾶτιν δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπεν ἦκειν ἄγοντα Ἐρετριέας καὶ Ἀθηναίους, εἰ βούλοιτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν· ὁ δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἐπ' ἄνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκιμωτάτοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τούτους ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, διηρευνήσατο δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι, τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ· ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια ἐλθόντες τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς οἱ στρα-

τιῶται αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διαστάντες, συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας διήλθον ἅπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς σφᾶς ἀποπεφευγὼς εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ διανοίᾳ κατηγάγοντο ἐξ Ἑρετρίας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς ἔτοιμόν σφισιν ὄν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ζεύξαντας Ἑρετριεῦσιν ἄγειν. τούτων δὲ τῶν μὲν πραχθέντων, τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρουμένων οὗτ' Ἑρετριεῦσιν ἐβοήθησεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον.

Plato, *Menexenus*, 240 A-C.

8. Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit eique Datim praefecit et Artaphernem hisque ducenta peditum, decem milia equitum dedit, causam interserens, se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardis expugnassent suaque praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii classe ad Euboeam appulsa celeriter Eretriam ceperunt omnesque eius gentis cives abreptos in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Atticam accesserunt ac suas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is est ab oppido circiter milia passuum decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo tamque magno permoti auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt Phidippumque, cursorem eius generis, qui hemerodromoe vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nuntiaret, quam celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creant decem praetores, qui exercitui praessent, in eis Miltiadem. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moenibus defenderent an obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent. Unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent: id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari, et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicari. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit praeter Plataeenses. Ea mille misit militum. Itaque horum adventu decem milia armatorum completa sunt; quae manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est, ut plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret. Eius ergo auctoritate impulsī Athenienses copias ex urbe edux-

erunt locoque idoneo castra fecerunt. Dein postero die sub montis radicibus acie regione instructa non apertissima proelium commiserunt (namque arbores multis locis erant rarae), hoc consilio, ut et montium altitudine tegerentur et arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etsi non aequum locum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum configere cupiebat eoque magis, quod, priusquam Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia produxit proeliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarint adeoque perterruerint, ut Persae non castra, sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc exstitit nobilius. Nulla enim umquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

Cuius victoriae non alienum videtur quale praemium Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius intellegi possit eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, quia Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret.

Cornelius Nepos (Ephorus), *Miltiades*, cc. 4-6.

9. Hippias regno pulsus in exilium agitur, qui profectus in Persas ducem se Dareo inferenti Atheniensibus bellum, sicut supra significatum est, adversus patriam suam offert. Igitur Athenienses audito Darei adventu auxilium a Lacedaemoniis, socia tum civitate, petiverunt, quos ubi viderunt quadridui teneri religione, non expectato, instructis decem milibus civium et Plataeensibus auxiliaribus mille adversus sescenta milia hostium in campis Marathoniis in proelium egrediuntur. Miltiades et dux belli erat et auctor non expectandi auxilii: quem tanta fiducia ceperat, ut plus praesidii in celeritate quam in sociis duceret. Magna igitur in pugnam euntibus animorum alacritas

fuit, adeo ut, cum mille passus inter duas acies essent, citato cursu ante iactum sagittarum ad hostem venerint. Nec audaciae eius eventus defuit: pugnatum est enim tanta virtute, ut hinc viros, inde pecudes putares. Victi Persae in naves confugerunt, ex quibus multae suppressae, multae captae sunt. In eo proelio tanta virtus singulorum fuit, ut cuius laus prima esset, difficile iudicium videretur. Inter ceteros tamen Themistoclis adulescentis gloria emicuit, in quo iam indoles futurae imperatoriae dignitatis apparuit. Cynegiri quoque militis Atheniensis gloria magnis scriptorum laudibus celebrata est, qui post proelii innumeras caedes cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, onustam navem dextra manu tenuit nec prius dimisit quam manum amitteret: tum quoque amputata dextera navem sinistra comprehendit, quam et ipsam cum amisisset, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit. Tantam in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot caedibus fatigatus, non duabus manibus amissis victus, truncus ad postremum et velut rabida fera dentibus dimicaverit. Ducenta milia Persae seu proelio sive naufragio amisere. Cecidit et Hippias, tyrannus Atheniensis, auctor et concitor eius belli, dis patriae ultoribus poenas repetentibus. Justinus, ii. 9. 7-21.

10. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην, οὐχ ἅμα πάντες ὕμνοῦσι γεγεννημένην, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, φησὶν (ὁ Θεόπομπος), ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρακρούεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Theopompus, *Frag.* (M.) 107.

11 α. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δᾶτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείς, λόγῳ μὲν, ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις ἐνέπρησαν, ἔργῳ δέ, καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δέκα καθεστώτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν, μέγιστον μὲν εἶχεν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης· καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς μάχης γνώμῃ τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος, οὐ μικρὰν ἐποίησε ῥοπήν· καὶ παρ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστου στρατηγοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντος, ὥς περιῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε Μιλτιάδῃ, διδάσκων τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ σεμνόν ἐστι καὶ σωτήριον. οὕτω δὲ πραῦνας τὴν φιλο-

νεικίαν, καὶ προτρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαπᾶν μιᾷ γνώμῃ τῇ κρατίστῃ χρωμένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλτιάδην, τῷ ἀπεριστάτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἔων ἕκαστος ἤδη τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄρχειν, ἐκείνῳ προσεΐχεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ, μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ μέσου πονήσαντος, καὶ πλείστον ἐνταῦθα χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντερεισάντων κατὰ Λεοντίδα καὶ Ἀντιοχίδα φυλὴν, ἡγωνίσαντο λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ' ἀλλήλους ὃ τε Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεοντίδος ἦν ὁ δ' Ἀντιοχίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ πλείοντας οὐκ ἐπὶ νήσων ἑώρων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἶσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβιαζομένους, φοβηθέντες, μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων, ταῖς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς ἡπείγοντο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ κατήνυσαν αὐθημερόν· ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φυλῆς Ἀριστείδης ἀπολειφθεὶς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τῶν λαφύρων, οὐκ ἐψεύσατο τὴν δόξαν· ἀλλὰ, χύδην μὲν ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσοῦ παρόντος, ἐσθῆτος δὲ παντοδαπῆς καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρχόντων, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε θιγεῖν, οὗτ' ἄλλον εἶασε, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐκείνον λαθόντες ὠφελήθησαν· ὧν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δαδοῦχος.

Plutarch, *Aristid.* 5.

11 δ. Τοῦτο δ' αὖ πάλιν Πέρσαι μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, τρίτῃ δ' ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἅμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἠττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πέμπτῃ δὲ φθίνοντος ἐν Ἀρβήλοις.

Plutarch, *Camill.* 19.

11 c. Πάντες οὖν ὁμαλῶς ἐρρύησαν πρὸς τὸ τὴν φύλιν ἐγκωμιάζειν, εἴ τι καλὸν πρὸς δόξαν αὐτῇ ὑπῆρχεν ἀναλεγόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν εἰς μέσον εἵλκετο, δῆμος ὧν ἐκείνης τῆς φυλῆς (sc. τῆς Αἰαντίδος)· καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρμόδιον Αἰαντίδος ἀπέφαινον, Ἀφιδναίους γε δὴ τῶν δῆμων γεγονότας. Γλαυκίας δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ Αἰαντίδαις τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι παραταξέως ἀποδοθῆναι, ταῖς Αἰσχύλου εἰς τὴν μεθορίαν ἐλεγείαις πιστούμενος, ἡγωνισμένου τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ἐπιφανῶς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχον ἀπεδείκνυε τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐξ ἐκείνης ὄντα τῆς φυλῆς, ὃς αὐτόν τε παρέσχεν ἄριστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τῆς μάχης μετὰ γε Μιλτιάδην αἰτιώτατος κατέστη, σύμψηφος ἐκείνῳ γενόμενος. ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσετίθην, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξήγαγε, τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης γραφεῖη.

Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* i. 10. 3.

II d. Καὶ μὴν τὴν πανσέληνον ἤδη σαφῶς ἐξελήλεγται Λακεδαιμονίων καταψευδόμενος, ἣν φησι περιμένοντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Μαραθῶνα μὴ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους καὶ μάχας πεποίηνται μηνὸς ἱσταμένου, μὴ περιμείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης, ἕκτη Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου γενομένης, ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν, ὥστε καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦτα περὶ τῆς πανσελήνου γέγραφεν. “ἀδύνατα δέ σφι τὸ παραντίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς ἐνάτη· ἐνάτη δ' οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον.” σὺ δὲ μεταφέρεις τὴν πανσέληνον εἰς ἀρχὴν μηνός, οὔσαν διχομηνίας, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πάντα πράγματα συνταράσσεις· καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγγελλόμενος γράφειν. ἐσπουδακῶς δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας διαφερόντως, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρας πομπὴν ἱστόρηκας, ἣν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ Ἑκάτῃ χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἐορτάζοντες. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε βοηθεῖ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν διαβολήν, ἣν ἔχει κολακεύσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀργύριον πολὺ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἀνέγνω ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίοις, οὐκ ἂν εἶασαν οὐδὲ περιεῖδον, ἐνάτῃ τὸν Φιλιππίδην παρακαλοῦντα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκ τῆς μάχης γεγεννημένον, καὶ ταῦτα, δευτεραῖον εἰς Σπάρτην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἀφιγμένον· εἰ μὴ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπέμποντο τοὺς συμμάχους. ὅτι μέντοι δέκα τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνύτου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος οὐ τῶν παρημελημένων ἐν ἱστορίᾳ, Δίλλλος, εἶρηκεν. ἀπαγγείλας δὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθεῖλε τὸ ἔργον. εὐξαμένους γάρ, φασί, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ θύσειν χιμάρους ὅσους ἂν τῶν βαρβάρων καταβάλωσιν, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀναρίθμου πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναφανέντος, παραιτεῖσθαι ψηφίσματι τὴν θεόν, ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποθύωσι πεντακοσίας τῶν χιμάρων.

Plutarch, *De Malig. Herod.* c. 26.

II e. Ἀνατέτραπται δὲ τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τὸ τέλος εἰς οὐδὲν ἤκει περιβόητον κατορθώματος, οὐδ' ἀγὼν τις ἔοικεν οὐδ' ἔργον γεγονέναι τοσοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρόσκρουσμα βραχὺ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποβᾶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ διασύροντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες λέγουσιν, εἰ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὐ φεύγουσι κόψαντες τὰ πείσματα τῶν νέων, τῷ φέρουσι προσωτάτῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀνέμῳ παραδόντες αὐτούς.

Plutarch, *l. c.* c. 27. 3.

11 f. Ἐκτὴ ἱσταμένου Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐσέτι νῦν τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νίκην ἡ πόλις ἐορτάζει.
Plutarch, *De Gloria Ath.* 7.

12 α. Δῆμός ἐστι Μαραθῶν, ἴσον τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέχων καὶ Καρύστου τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. ταύτῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔσχον οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τινες, ὥς ἀνήγοντο, ἀπώλεσαν τῶν νεῶν. τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στῆλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δοῦλοι τότε πρῶτον. καὶ ἀνδρός ἐστὶν ἰδίᾳ μνῆμα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, συμβάσης ὕστερόν οἱ τῆς τελευτῆς Πάρου τε ἀμαρτόντι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἐς κρίσιν Ἀθηναίοις καταστάντι. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἐστὶν αἰσθέσθαι· καταστῆναι δὲ ἐς ἐναργῇ θέαν ἐπίτηδες μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅτῳ συνήνεγκεν, ἀνηκόῳ δὲ ὄντι καὶ ἄλλως συμβᾶν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργή. σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι τούτους τε οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον, ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ Μαραθῶνα, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ δήμῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ, καὶ Ἡρακλέα, φάμενοι πρῶτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσιν Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομισθῆναι. συνέβη δέ, ὥς λέγουσιν, ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρεῖναι τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν σκευὴν ἀγροίκον· οὗτος τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καταφονεύσας ἀρότρῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἀφανής· ἐρομένοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλο μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχρησεν οὐδέν, τιμᾶν δὲ Ἐχετλαῖον ἐκέλευσεν ἥρωα. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λευκοῦ. τοὺς δὲ Μήδους Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν θάψαι λέγουσιν, ὥς πάντως ὅσιον ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν γῇ κρύψαι, τάφον δὲ οὐδένα εὐρεῖν ἡδυνάμην· οὔτε γὰρ χῶμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς ὥς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. Pausanias, i. 32. 3-5.

12 β. Τελευταῖοι δὲ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσὶν οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι· Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ Πλάταιαν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ἦν Ἀττικὸν ἴασιν ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἐστὶν ἴσα παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ ἔργον· τὸ δὲ ἔσω μάχης φεύγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους. ἔσχαται δὲ τῆς γραφῆς νῆές τε αἱ Φοίνισσαι, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς ταύτας φονεύοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μαραθῶν γεγραμμένος ἐστὶν ἥρως, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον ὠνόμασται, καὶ Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος, Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. Μαραθωνίοις γάρ, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομίσθη θεὸς πρῶτοις. τῶν μαχομένων δὲ δῆλοι μάλιστά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Καλλίμαχος τε, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις πολεμαρχεῖν

ἦρτο, καὶ Μιλτιάδης τῶν στρατηγούντων, ἥρως τε Ἐχέτλος καλούμενος,
οὗ καὶ ὕστερον ποιήσομαι μνήμην. Pausanias, i. 15. 3.

13. χωρὶς ἵππεῖς. Δάτιδος ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τοὺς Ἴωνάς
φασιν ἀναχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα σημαίνειν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις ὥς εἶεν χωρὶς οἱ ἵππεῖς, καὶ Μιλτιάδην συνιέντα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν
αὐτῶν συμβαλεῖν οὕτως καὶ νικῆσαι. Suidas.

B. DATE OF THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

That the battle of Marathon occurred ten years before Salamis is stated by Plato, *Laws*, 698. The Parian marble puts it in the archonship of Phaenippus, 227 (226) years before the date of the marble, i.e. $226 + 264 = 490$, and this is the date given in the *Athen. Pol.* c. 22. Jerome, on the other hand, puts it in 492 B.C. = Ann. Abrah. 1525 = Ol. 72. 1; see Schöne, *Euseb.* ii. p. 103. The day of the battle is fixed at Boedromion 6 by Plutarch (*Camill.* 19; *De Glor. Ath.* 7. Cf. *De mal. Herod.* 26). Unless the calendar was in great disorder, we cannot reconcile this date with the account given by Herodotus. He tells us that the Spartans set out after the full moon (i.e. on the 16th of the month, which was probably Metageitnion); and reached Athens on the third day, i.e. on the 18th. But this was the day after the battle (Plato's *Menex.* 240). The battle, then, was fought on the 17th day of the moon, and if this was Metageitnion, the day will correspond to Sept. 12, the new moon falling, in this year, on August 26. On the other hand the author of the 'Malignity of Herodotus' treats the story of the full moon as unworthy of credit; cf. vi. 107. 13 note, *supr.* 11 d.

The argument of Boeckh that the battle must have been fought in the first 'prytany' of the year, because the Aeantid tribe was still in office at the time, and the Aeantid came first in this year, rests on the assumption that the Aeantid tribe was on the right wing at the battle *because* it was the first in the order for the year; whereas the only reason that we have for

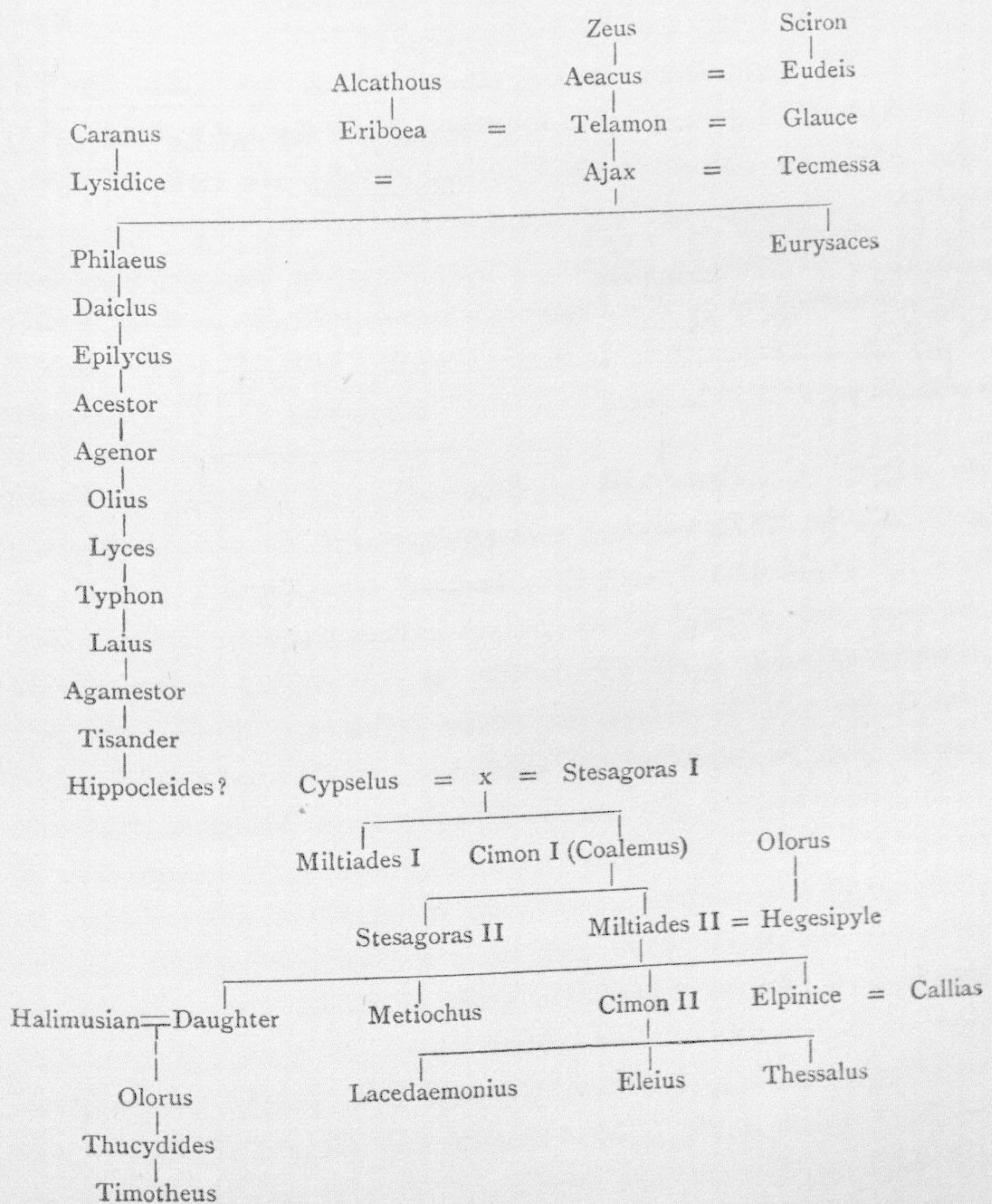
saying that the Aeantis was first in this year is the fact that it was on the right wing in the battle. And as Callimachus belonged to the Aeantid tribe, and custom demanded that he, as Polemarch, should be on the right wing, his tribe may have been stationed there, whatever its position in the order for the year. Nor need we assert that the month in question was the Spartan month Carneius, for the Spartans may have had festivals on other months, which prevented them from going out to battle between the ninth and the full moon. The day of the battle—and even the month—must, therefore, be left uncertain. [It is a curious coincidence that in the year 410 B.C. the Aeantid tribe came first in order, and the Leontid and Antiochid tribes came together (sixth and seventh). See the table given in Boeckh, *Staatsh.* ii. 25.]¹

¹ On this subject the reader will find a long discussion in Lügebil, *Zur Geschichte der Staatsverfassung von Athen*, p. 625 ff. Plutarch (*supr.* 11 c) implies that the Aeantid was on the right because the battle took place while it was the *πρυτανεύουσα φυλή*, but it does not follow that it came *first* in order for the year, if indeed Plutarch's surmise is worth anything.

EXCURSUS IV.

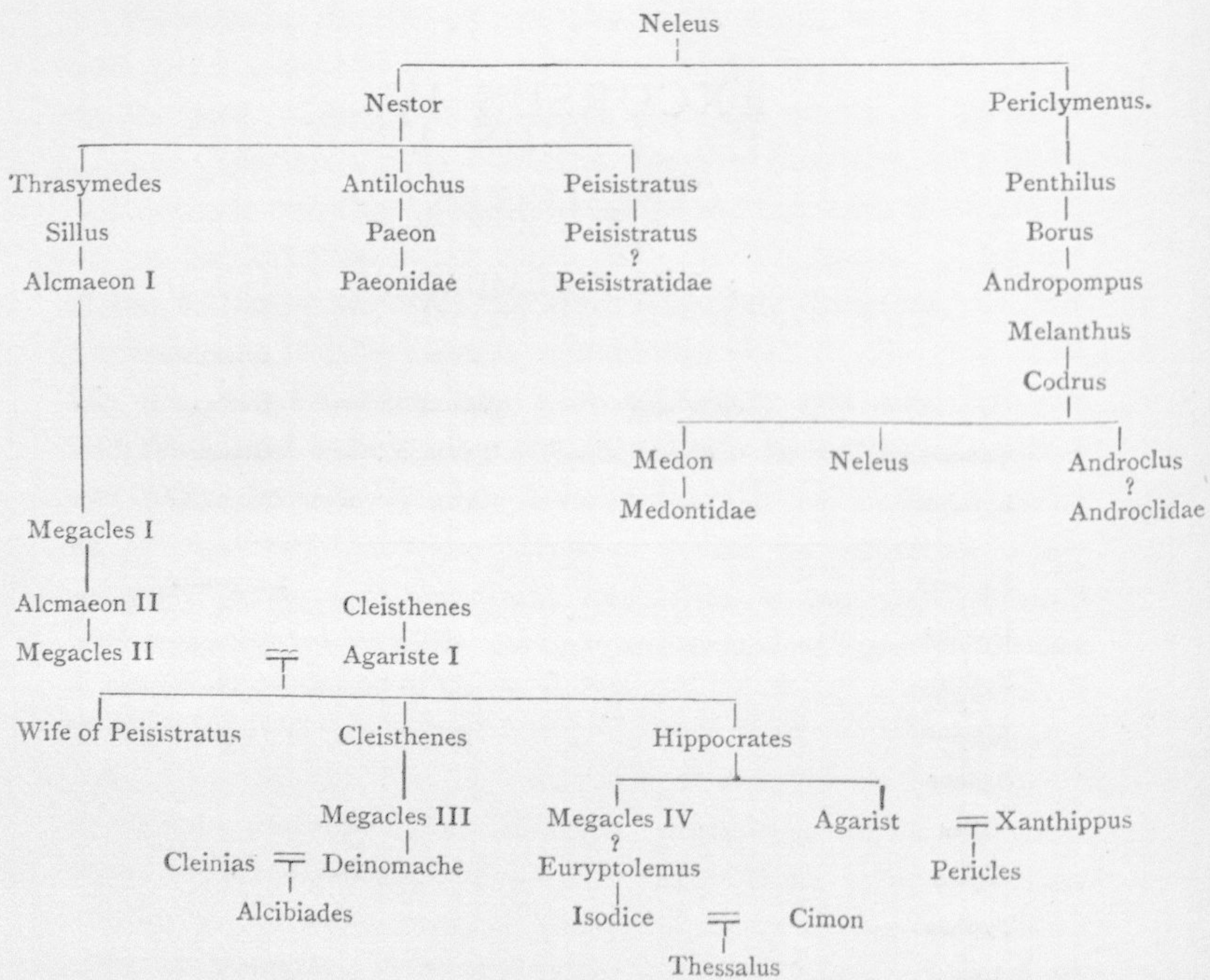
GENEALOGIES.

I. THE PHILAIIDAE.



See Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 320.

2. THE ALCMAEONIDAE.



EXCURSUS V.

VI. 126.

THE ORTHAGORIDAE OF SICYON.

1. Πλείστον γὰρ χρόνον ἐγένετο ἡ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἢ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδημαγώγουν. λέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν ἀποκρίναντα τῆς νίκης αὐτὸν ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν· ἔνιοι δ' εἰκόνα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ κρίναντος οὕτως τὸν ἀνδρίαντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθήμενον.
Arist. *Pol.* 1315 b 12 f.

2. Ὅτι Μύρων ὁ Σικυωνίων βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ Ὀρθαγόρου κατάγων τὸ γένος, ἦν περί τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκόλαστος· οὐ λάθρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερώς βιασάμενος ἥσχυεν· τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσοδήμου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα ἐμοίχευσεν. ὁ δὲ ἡσθημένος, πρότερον μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ ἔφρασεν ἀδημονῶν. ἦν δ', ὥς φασιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπλοῦς τὸ ἦθος καὶ ἄκακος, ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης δόλιος. καὶ ποτε πυνθανομένου τί χρή ποιεῖν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἶπεν οὐδ' ἂν μίαν ἡμέραν ἀνασχέσθαι τοιαῦτα παθῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοχειρίας αὐτὸν τὸν δράσαντα τιμωρήσασθαι. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν Ἰσοδήμον ἐπὶ τὸν Μύρωνα, ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ τυραννίδι, τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανόντος, τοῦ δὲ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δυναμένου διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ὅπερ ἐδήλωσεν. ὥς γὰρ ὁ Ἰσοδήμος ἔκτεινε τὸν Μύρωνα ζ' ἔτη τυραννεύσαντα, εὐρὼν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλεισθένη ἔφρασε μέγα στενάξας, ἐκείνος συνάχθεσθαι ἀμφοτέροις ἔφη, τῷ μὲν θανόντι, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ πάθοι ταῦτα, ἐκείνῳ δ' αὖ, ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν κτείνας, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι δύναιτο τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἕτερον τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ὁ δ' ἵνα μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκπέσοι, πεισθεὶς

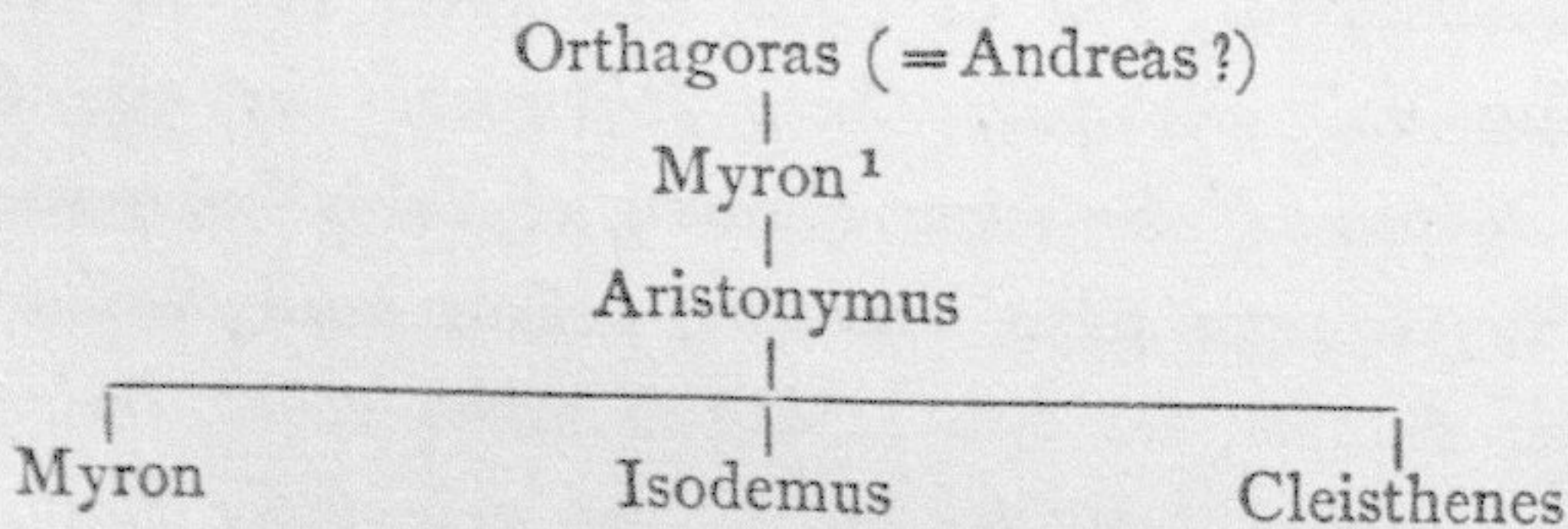
ἀληθῆ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἐνιαυτὸν διαλιπὼν προσεΐλετο κοινωνόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐτέχναζεν κατειργάσατο διὰ τὴν εὐήθειαν ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀμφότεροι Σικυῶνος ἦρχον. πολὺ μὲντοι μᾶλλον Κλεισθένι προσεΐχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἅτε φοβερῶ ὄντι καὶ δραστηρίῳ, καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου φίλοι τούτῳ προσεχώρουν. τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἰσοδήμον ἀπεστέρησε τοιόνδε τι τεχνάσας. ἦν τις Χαιρέδημος, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν Ἰσοδήμου φίλος. οὗτος ὁρῶν τὸν Κλεισθένη ἐργασιμώτερον, προσιῶν περὶ φιλίας διελέγετο. πολλὰ δὲ ὑπισχνουμένου, Κλεισθένης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς πίστιν ὦν ἔφη παρελθόντα Ἰσοδήμῳ παραινεῖν ἀπενιαυτίσαι διὰ τὸν φόνον, ὅπερ ἔθος ἦν ποιεῖν, ὥς καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ (καὶ) τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξέσται κεκαθαρμένῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου παισὶν ἄρχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔνοχον ὄντα χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμμενεῖν τῇ τυραννίδι, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἐγγόνοις λείψειν. ταῦτα λέγοντα ὁ Χαιρέδημος ἐδέξατο, καὶ τῷ Ἰσοδήμῳ συνεβούλευε μεταστῆναι ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν. ὁ δὲ οἷα ἀνὴρ ἄκακος, πεισθεὶς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Κόρινθον, παραδούς Κλεισθένι τὴν τυραννίδα. ὁ δὲ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντος διέβαλλεν ὥς μετὰ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως ἂν μόνος ἄρχοι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στράτευμα ὀπλίσας ἐξείργε κατιόντα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτυράννει, βιαιότατος ὢν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὠμότατος, καὶ βοηθείας πολλοῖς ἐκπέμπων, ὥς ἂν ἔχοι συμμάχους. κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν καὶ λ' ἔτη ἐτελεύτησεν.

Nicolaus Damascenus, *Frag.* 61 M.

3. Σικυωνίοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία, ἑκατὸν ἔτη μαστιγονομήσεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τίς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσων, πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη, ᾧ ἂν καταπλεύσαντες πρώτῳ γεγεννημένον υἱὸν ἀκούσωσιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τοῖς θεωροῖς ἠκολουθηκὼς τῆς θυσίας ἔνεκα μάγειρος, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀνδρέας. μισθοῦ τοῖς ἄρχουσι μαστιγοφορῶν ὑπηρετεῖ.

Diodorus, viii. 24.

4. The following seems to be the genealogical table of the Orthagoridae:—



¹ Victor in the chariot race, Ol. 33, 648 B.C. Paus. vi. 19. 2.

EXCURSUS VI.

VI. 127.

PHEIDON OF ARGOS.

1. THE following are the principal dates given in ancient authorities for Pheidon of Argos.

(a) The Parian marble, epoch 30, puts Pheidon 631 years before the date of the table, i. e. $631 + 264 = 895$ B. C. In the marble Pheidon is said to be the seventh descendant of Temenus (inclusive). In Theopompus also, *Frag.* 30 M., he is said to be the sixth from Temenus.

(b) Jerome puts Pheidon in anno Abr. 1220, i. e. 20 years before Olympiad 1 = 796 B. C.

(c) Eusebius, *Chron. Arm. Vers.* (Schöne, i. 277), puts Caranus, the brother of Pheidon, before the first Olympiad, but the total amount of the reigns of the Macedonian kings from Caranus to Philip II amount to 398 years, and this brings us to 757 for Caranus ($398 + 359 = 757$). Syncellus again, p. 373. 13, places Caranus, whom he calls the brother of Pheidon, 17 years before Olymp. 1, i. e. in 793 B. C., a date which agrees with Jerome, but he also speaks of him as the seventh from Temenus and eleventh from Heracles, in which he agrees with the Parian marble.

(d) Ephorus in Strabo, p. 358 (*Frag.* 15 M.) speaks of Pheidon as the tenth from Temenus: this, if we assume that 1090¹ B. C. is Ephorus's date for Temenus, would give us

¹ Ephorus seems to have placed the return of the Heracleids, with which his work began, 750 years before the siege of Perinthus in 341 B. C., with which it ended. See Diod. xvi. 26, Müller, *Hist. Gr. Frag.* I. lix.

(1090-333) 757 B.C., a date which agrees with that resulting from the total reigns of the Macedonian kings.

(e) Pausanias vi. 22. 2 states precisely that Pheidon celebrated the eighth Olympiad with the Pisatans, having expelled the Eleans: this would bring us to 748 B.C. That Pheidon did so celebrate an Olympiad is stated by Herodotus, vi. 127, and the eighth Olympiad is mentioned by Pausanias as one of the three which the Eleans removed from the list, as wrongly celebrated (the other two being Ol. 34 and 104).

(f) Herodotus, *l.c.*, informs us that the son of Pheidon was a suitor for the hand of Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes the king of Sicyon, whose wedding cannot be placed much earlier than 570 B.C.

(g) Numismatists (see Head, *Hist. Num.* Introd. § 8, and p. 331 f.) inform us that the oldest Aeginetan coins cannot go back beyond 700 B.C.; if therefore Pheidon was the first to coin them, we cannot put his date earlier than 700 B.C.

2. Of these dates the last two appear to rest on very slight foundation. The story which Herodotus tells of the wedding of Agariste cannot be accepted as true in all its details. To take a single instance. It is chronologically impossible that Alcmaeon could have been enriched by Croesus in the manner so graphically described by Herodotus, before 560 B.C.—the date of the accession of Croesus—and yet the marriage of Agariste cannot have taken place after 570 B.C. (see *supr.* p. 162). But if in order to save the chronology we assume that Croesus is here wrongly put in the place of Alyattes, we have at the same time surrendered the right to insist on the verbal accuracy of the assertion that the Leocedes who came to Sicyon, circ. 570 B.C., was the son of the great Pheidon. Here, as in the case of Croesus, the most prominent name may have been put in the place of the true name.

The numismatic evidence is vague and uncertain. It does not appear that we have any coins of Aegina, which can with certainty be carried back to Pheidon, so that we are not in a position to speak with accuracy about the oldest coins of Aegina. And though it is probably true that the coins of

Lydia preceded those of Aegina (with which, however, they do not stand in any connection, the standards of the two systems being different, and the material of the coins different), there is nothing to prove that the coinage of Lydia began with Gyges, as Head assumes (*Hist. Num.* p. xxxiii).

Of the remaining dates those of the chronologists, Ephorus and Pausanias, are not really inconsistent. They all point to the half century between 795 and 745, and as the date of Pausanias is the only one with which a definite fact is connected, a fact registered by the removal of the Olympiad from the list, it merits the first place, unless it can be shown to be on other grounds impossible¹. To what combination the higher date given in the Parian marble and required by the legend which places Pheidon sixth or seventh in descent from Temenus is due, is uncertain (see Müller, *Herod.* p. 578, Didot). The marble speaks of Pheidon as the eleventh from Heracles, and, as we have seen, Syncellus makes him seventh from Temenus and eleventh from Heracles, but gives him a date which is inconsistent with this order. Can there then have been some confusion by which tenth or eleventh from Temenus has been changed into eleventh from Heracles (Weissenborn, *Hellen*, p. 7)?

Nevertheless the date given by Pausanias has been often rejected since Weissenborn endeavoured to show (*Hellen*, p. 1 ff.) that a later date was more consistent with the facts which are recorded of the reign of Pheidon. Weissenborn relies on the following passage, (1) Ephorus in Strabo, p. 358:—Φεΐδωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀργεῖον, δέκατον μὲν ὄντα ἀπὸ Τημένου, δυνάμει δ' ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτόν, ἀφ' ἧς τήν τε λήξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη, καὶ μέτρα ἐξεῦρε τὰ Φειδώνια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμοὺς καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν, πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἰρεθείσαις πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοῦν τιθέναι αὐτόν, οὗς ἐκεῖνος ἔθηκε· τούτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν· καὶ δὴ αὐτόν, βιασάμενον ἐπελθόντα θείναι αὐτόν, οὔτε τῶν Ἡλείων ἐχόντων ὅπλα,

¹ It is also supported by the story which connects Pheidon with Melissus and Archias of Corinth; Schol. *Apol. Rhod.* iv. 1212; Plut. *Amat. Narr.* 2; see *Hist. Greece*, i. 228.

ὥστε κωλύειν, διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, τῶν τε ἄλλων κρατουμένων τῇ δυναστείᾳ· οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε Ἑλλείους ἀναγράψαι τὴν θέσιν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπλα κτήσασθαι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρξάμενους ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· συμπράττειν δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴτε φθονήσαντας τῇ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην εὐτυχίᾳ, εἴτε καὶ συνεργοὺς ἔξιν νομίσαντας πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα, ἀφηρεμένον αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων [ἣν ἐκεῖ]νοι προεκέκτηντο· καὶ δὴ καὶ συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα· τοὺς δὲ συγκατασκευάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλείοις τὴν τε Πισάτιν καὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν. With this he compares (2) Strabo, p. 355:—'Εγγυτέρω δὲ πίστεως, ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ἐν ᾗ Κόροιβος ἐνῖκα στάδιον Ἑλλείος, τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἑλλεῖοι * * * * * μετὰ [δὲ] τὴν ἑκτὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα οἱ Πισᾶται τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπολαβόντες αὐτοὶ συνετέλουν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντα· χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον μεταπεσούσης πάλιν τῆς Πισάτιδος εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλείους, μετέπεσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς πάλιν καὶ ἡ ἀγωνοθεσία. συνέπραξαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων συμμαχήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰναντία τῶν Νέστορος ἀπογόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, συμπολεμησάντων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις· καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν γε συνέπραξαν, ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν τὴν μέχρι Μεσσήνης Ἑλλεῖαν ῥηθῆναι καὶ διαμεῖναι μέχρι νῦν, Πισατῶν δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Κανκῶνων μὴδ' ὄνομα λειφθῆναι.

From these passages he draws the conclusion that the Pisatans never attempted to acquire the management of the Olympian games in the first 26 Olympiads, so that Pausanias is in error in speaking of the 8th as an 'Anolympiad,' and that the help which the Spartans rendered to the Eleans in subjugating the Pisatans belongs to a period not far removed from the end of the Second Messenian War. This last he confirms by an extract from Pausanias (vi. 22. 2):—Οἰκιστὴν μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει Πῖσον τὸν Περιήρους φασὶ τοῦ Αἰόλου· Πισαῖοι δὲ ἐφειλκύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοί τε Ἑλλείοις καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἑλλείων, οἷγε Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδωνι. τετάρτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ Ἑλλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια. ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς

τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστήν, τεθείσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, Ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἠλείοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν. ὁγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοιαν μὲν τινα παρέσχεν Ἠλείοις νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλεύειν ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὅπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἵκαδε ἀπράκτους ἔπεισε δεήσεσιν τε καὶ ὅρκοις. Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφώντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανείλοντο Ἠλείοις. συναπέστησαν δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Ἠλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκιλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιόικων Δυσπόντιοι. τούτοις καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς Πισαίους οἰκεῖα ἦν καὶ οἰκιστὴν Δυσποντέα γενέσθαι σφίσιν Οἰνομάου παῖδα ἐμνημόνευον. Πισαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον ἐπέλαθεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἠλείων γενέσθαι.

4. Once more, we learn from Africanus that the 28th Olympiad was the first celebrated by the Pisatans, the Eleans being engaged in a war with Dyme at the time, and that when the Pisatans had thrown off the yoke of the Eleans, they celebrated the 30th and following 22 Olympiads. This is a contradiction of Ephorus (Strabo) and Pausanias, and Clinton would remove the contradiction, in part at any rate, by supposing that for 22 Olympiads the Pisatans and Eleans managed the festival in common, though in Olympiad 34 the Eleans were allowed to have no part in it.

On these grounds Weissenborn proposed to alter the 8th Olympiad of Pausanias into the 28th, i.e. 748 B.C. into 668 B.C., which according to the dates given by Pausanias would fall immediately after the end of the Second Messenian War. It would also coincide within a year with the great victory of the Argives over the Spartans at Hysiae (669 B.C.), a victory which Weissenborn ascribes to Pheidon, though Pausanias states that Democratidas was king of Argos at the end of the Second Messenian War. After the end of the Messenian War (such is Weissenborn's view), Elis and Sparta were able to combine their forces against the Pisatans and Pheidon, and put an end to his ambitious projects¹.

¹ For the chronology of the Messenian Wars see Müller, *Frag. Chron.* p. 137, Ap. Herod. Didot.

On the other hand, we have to remember (1) that the date 668 B. C. for Pheidon is not supported by any ancient testimony whatever; it does not agree with Pausanias nor with the statement that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenus, nor with the chronologists; it does not help in regard to Agariste, for the son of a man who was reigning at Argos in 668 B. C. could not be a suitor for the young princess in 570 B. C. (2) The situation of affairs in 668 B. C. in the Peloponnese depends on the date ascribed to the Second Messenian War, which was apparently a generation later than the date which Pausanias ascribed to it (see *Hist. Greece*, i. 272). (3) The events with which legend connects Pheidon and Corinth belong to the eighth and not to the seventh century, for they must fall before the colonization of Syracuse (see *Hist. Greece*, i. 228). (4) The account of Africanus is inconsistent with that of Pausanias, and the picture which Pausanias gives does not support the equality of the two nations which we should assume to exist between them if they managed the festival in common. (5) The 28th Olympiad is not registered as an Anolympiad. These objections to Weissenborn's theory seem to me more than sufficient to justify us in retaining the traditional date for Pheidon.

5. With regard to the weights and measures and coinage we may observe that the story which connects Pheidon with these, like many others in antiquity, becomes more precise as it goes on. Herodotus says nothing of coinage, vi. 127 Φείδωνος τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι. Aristotle also speaks of measures only, *Frag.* 480 R Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ Φείδων τε ἀγγεῖον ἐλαιηρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτρων ὠνομασμένον, ὑπὲρ ᾧ ἐν Ἀργείων πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει. But Ephorus in Strabo, p. 376, says definitely: Καὶ μέτρα ἐξεύρε τὰ Φειδώνια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμοὺς καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν. And so the Parian marble: Νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν¹. From this we see that the oldest authorities do not ascribe the striking of coins to Pheidon. Is it then possible that coins struck on his

¹ Cf. Etym. Magn. ὀβελίσκος: πρῶτος δὲ πάντων Φείδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἔκοψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ διαδιδούς τὸ νόμισμα καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους ἀνέθηκε τῇ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἡρᾷ.

standard were ascribed to him without sufficient cause? We may also observe that no good reason has ever been given why *Pheidon* should have struck coins at Aegina rather than Argos; we know that Aegina was once subject to Epidaurus, and that Argos once claimed rights of sovereignty over her but Epidaurus was generally on ill terms with Argos, and Aegina refused to recognise the claim (v. 82 f.; vi. 92. 10). Of any closer connection between the island and the city there is no proof.

EXCURSUS VII.

VI. 132.

THE EXPEDITION TO PAROS.

1. Ὁ δὲ Μιλτιάδης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων νήσων τινὰς ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος ἐπόρθησε· Πάρον δέ, εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην οὖσαν τότε τῶν Κυκλάδων, καθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει πολὺν χρόνον τῆς θαλάττης εἵργων, καὶ κατὰ γῆν μηχανήματα ἄγων· ἥδη τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν διωμολογημένων, ὕλης τινὸς ἐξ αὐτομάτου περὶ τὴν Μύκονον ἐξαφθείσης, οἱ μὲν Πάριοι τὸν Δᾶτιν αὐτοῖς πυρσεύειν ὑπολαβόντες, ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ὁμολογίας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τῷ Μιλτιάδῃ παρέδωκαν. ὅθεν φασὶν ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ νῦν χρῆσθαι τῇ παροιμίᾳ, τοὺς ψευδομένους τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀναπαριάζειν φάσκοντας (Steph. Byz. Πάρος).

Ephorus, *Fragm.* 107 M.

2. Post hoc proelium classem lxx navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros adiuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo imperio plerasque ad officium redire coëgit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam cum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit omnique commeatu privavit; dein vineis ac testudinibus constitutis proprius muros accessit. Cum iam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu nocturno tempore incensus est. Cuius flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem signum a classiariis regis datum. Quo factum est, ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur, et Miltiades, timens, ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quae statuerat, cum totidem navibus, atque erat profectus, Athenas magna cum offensione civium suorum

rediret. Accusatus ergo est proditiōis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege corruptus infectis rebus discessisset. Eo tempore aeger erat vulneribus, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque, quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba fecit frater eius Stesagoras. Causa cognita capitis absolutus pecunia multatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quod solvere in praesentia non poterat, in vincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.

Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in imperiis magnisque versatus, non videbatur posse esse privatus, praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur¹. Nam in Chersoneso omnes illos, quos habitarat, annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed iustus. Non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas, ut nemo tam humilis esset, cui non ad eum aditus pateret, magna auctoritas apud omnes civitatis, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens maluit illum innoxium plecti quam se diutius esse in timore.

Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiades*, cc. 7, 8.

Other versions may be found in the Scholia to Aristides, and in Libanius, but they may be passed over as the work of rhetoricians.

¹ Cf. Herod. vi. 104.

EXCURSUS VIII.

VI. 57.

The πατροῦχος παρθένος.

THE following passage from a recently published work of the late Fustel de Coulanges puts the position of the πατροῦχος παρθένος so clearly and precisely that I venture to quote it¹.

On voit, en effet, dans le peu qui nous est resté du droit de Sparte, que la fille unique y était, aussi bien qu'à Athènes, l'objet d'une législation particulière. Cette fille était dite ἐπίκληρος ou ἐπιπάματις², ce qui signifiait, non pas qu'elle fût héritière, mais qu'elle était à côté de l'héritage et qu'elle s'ajoutait à lui. Elle n'héritait pas de son père, au moins directement, car Aristote dit en termes très nets que, si un père était mort sans faire de testament et ne laissant qu'une fille, c'était un autre qu'elle qui était l'héritier, et que cet héritier, à titre de maître et tuteur de la fille, lui choisissait un mari³. Deux siècles avant Aristote, c'étaient les rois de Sparte qui désignaient un époux à la fille épiclère, si le père n'avait pas de son vivant fait ce choix⁴. On remarquera que cette attribution des rois de Sparte était la même qui appartenait à l'archonte d'Athènes. Nous ne devons pas croire d'ailleurs que le choix d'un mari pour la fille unique fût arbitraire; les textes ne nous disent pas formellement quelles règles la loi avait fixées; du moins Aristote nous apprend que le père lui-même n'avait pas la faculté de donner sa fille épiclère à

¹ *Nouvelles Recherches sur quelques Problèmes d'histoire*, 1891, pp. 97, 98.

² Hesychius, au mot ἐπιπαμάτιδα. On disait dans le même sens πατροῦχος (Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iii. 33).

³ Aristote, *Politique*, ii. 6. 11 : Ἄν ἀποθάνῃ μὴ διαθέμενος, ὃν ἂν καταλίπη κληρονόμον, οὗτος ᾧ ἂν θέλῃ δίδωσι τὴν ἐπίκληρον.

⁴ Hérodote, vi. 57.

qui il voulait ¹. A plus forte raison les rois ne pouvaient-ils agir ici d'après leur seul caprice, aussi Hérodote les présente-t-il comme des juges, qui se contentent de prononcer à qui l'épiclère doit appartenir d'après la loi ².

Tout cela s'explique si l'on songe aux vieilles règles de la famille grecque. L'héritage, de même que le culte et l'autorité domestique, passait toujours aux mâles; si les fils faisaient défaut et qu'il n'y eût qu'une fille, l'antique principe voulait que celle-ci n'héritât pas, mais l'usage admettait qu'elle passât avec l'héritage au plus proche parent, c'est-à-dire qu'elle l'épousât. C'est ainsi que nous trouvons dans Hérodote l'exemple d'une fille épiclère qui épouse son oncle ³. Si le père mariait ou fiançait sa fille de son vivant, apparemment il ne pouvait le faire qu'en la donnant au plus proche parent, ou bien encore en la donnant à un fils adoptif; mais l'adoption elle-même ne pouvait se faire qu'en présence des rois, ce qui implique qu'elle était soumise à des règles ⁴. S'il mourait sans avoir pris ces dispositions, le plus proche parent se présentait pour prendre à la fois l'héritage et la fille, et s'il y avait contestation entre plusieurs parents, c'étaient les rois qui prononçaient. Ainsi, les principes étaient les mêmes qu'à Athènes. Il est possible qu'il y eût quelques différences dans l'application, mais l'absence de textes ne nous permet pas de les apercevoir.

¹ Aristote rappelle cette ancienne règle qui avait disparu de son temps, quand il dit : 'Mais, *de nos jours*, il peut donner sa fille à qui il veut' (Aristote, *Politique*, ii. 6. 11).

² Hérodote, vi. 57 : Δικάζειν τοὺς βασιλέας πατρούχου παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ.

³ Hérodote, vii. 205. Plutarque, *Agis*, 11, cite une fille épiclère qui est épousée par un parent. Cf. Hérodote, vi. 71.

⁴ Ibidem, vi. 57.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VI. 68. 16.

By the kindness of Professor Tylor I have received the following communication from Professor Darmesteter, in reference to the names Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes:—

‘ 1°. Darius est en perse *Dārayavau* c. a. d. *Dārayava(h)u* ce qui signifie “qui tient les biens” (par suite, sans doute, “qui les possède et qui les donne”: quelque chose comme le *δοτὴρ ἐάων*; *vau* est identique à la base d’*ἐάων*). *Dāraya* s’emploie aussi au sens d’arrêter: de là, la traduction grecque *ἐκτωρ*.

‘ 2°. Xerxès est *Khshayārshā* c. a. d. *Khshaya-arshā*, “le mâle des princes” (“le plus fort”:—*arsha* = *ἄρσην*—a fourni un nombre de noms propres perses; *Arshāma*, *Ἀρσάμης*, et le nom du fondateur de la dynastie parthe *Arsakes*). *Khshayārsha* transcrit en hébreu a donné *Akhashyarash*, d’où par confusion de *y* avec *v* la forme *Akhashverosh*.

‘ 3°. Artaxerxes est *Artakhshathra* “qui a royauté parfaite,” “le bon roi.” *Arta*, le zend *asha*, est l’expression la plus haute du bien.

‘ *Artakhshathra* *Ἀρταξέρξης* est devenu plus tard *Ardashîr*.’

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